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The catacombs of Saint
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The oldest picture of the Blessed Virgin

(From the Catacombs of St. Priscilla, beginning of the II century).

THE CATACOMBS

OF

SAINT CALLISTUS

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

WITH

General View of the Christian Sepulture
Epigraphy and Art

GROTTAFERRATA
SCUOLA TIP. ITALO-ORIENTALE " S. NILO ,,
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THE CATACOMBS

of Saint Callistus

Preamble and division.

The lamented J. B. De Rossi, said in the second volume of his « *Rome souterraine* », that after the Vatican tombs, the most venerable sanctuary of Rome is the Chapel or Crypt of the Popes, this very subterranean chapel, around which, as a centre, the immense necropolis of Saint Callistus developed during the third and fourth centuries.

It has always been my intense desire to describe this most Sacred region of subterranean Rome. How often I went down into those crypts to study their precious monuments! How often, after delivering my usual conferences to scholars or to a group of amateurs of sacred archaeology, I felt prompted to write the story of the great cemetery! But, what could I say that others had not already said before me? This question, to which I could not give an

5982

answer, caused me always to lay my pen aside. At present, however, the answer seems easy to me. I was going to say, natural: therefore without further delay, I will put it here as a preface to this book:

I. Although the illustrious De Rossi described this cemetery especially, writing much about it, still, not all he said has been published. I shall therefore discover among the untold things many which will appear new, and be interesting.

II. Lately, other excavations were made, resulting in the discovery of new monuments; and new studies which are extremely interesting have been published.

III. Finally, the author shall add some thing of his own, drawn from his personal investigations; resume what others have already said; and explain them in a different way, by a different, if not a new, method.

The book will be divided as follows:

Chapter I. General notions concerning subterranean Rome;

Chapter II. Epigraphy and Art in the Catacombs;

Chapter III. The Cemetery of Saint Callistus.

Chapter I.

General notions concerning subterranean Rome

Article I.

Character of Christian Sepulture.

From the very beginning, Christian sepulture was a religious act; according to the testimony of the Fathers, and especially of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, the burial of the dead was a duty religiously discharged by the Christians. God's punishment was feared for its omission (1). To fulfil it they collected alms and even they thought it lawful to sell the sacred vessels (2).

One readily understands, then, that the Christian tombs were completely separated from the Pagan tombs, and, that a Christian could never be buried in a Pagan *hypogeum*. Upon this point facts, documents and monuments perfectly agree. For this reason, also, one may easily understand why from the beginning, the Apostles in-

(1) St. Cyprian, édition Baluse, Ep. II; Tertull. Apol 36.

(2) St. Ambros. Ds officiis., lib. II, 142, Venetiis, t. III, pag. 124.

stituted the cemetery together with the temple and the school. Holy Writ does not mention united tombs; the most ancient documents speak of a cemetery *ad nimphas* S. Petri the fountains

Fig. 1 — Tomb dug in a rock in Arabia (*Revue biblique*, 1905, p. 588).

of St. Peter, ad *fontem S. Petri*, the spring of St. Peter, ad sedem ubi prius sedit S. Petrus, the seat of St. Peter; in a word, of a cemetery which, in the Acts of Pope Liberius, is called « Ostrian », where St. Peter baptized ».

In Asia, the greater part of the Christian tombs were private, sunk in very hard rock, and very little different from the Jewish tombs (figs. 1 and 2). In the West, on the contrary, and in Africa, the common tombs were numerous.

In Rome, and in different parts of *Italy*, in

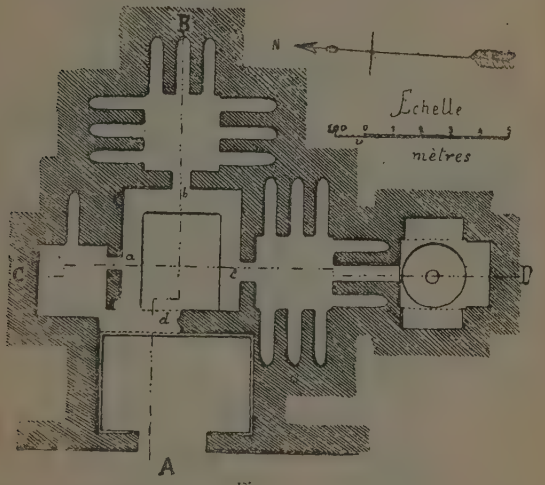


Fig. 2
Plan of a jewish hypogea at Jerusalem (*Revue biblique*, 1899, p. 207).
(Scale in meters 1 m = 39 about).

Sicily (fig. 3) and in *Malta*, catacombs were excavated In *Africa*, the *collegiate* tombs were generally above ground; it was the same in *Spain* and in *Gaul*; this position made them an easier prey for destruction. I say generally; for, lately, catacombs were discovered even in Africa (fig. 4).

But the name « *catacombs* » does not belong to all the Christian underground *cemeteries*. At first it designated only the cemetery of Saint Sebastian ; perhaps, either, because a hollow, or cavity was in the place, as the Greek compound word, from κατὰ in, and from κυμβος hollow, suggests or because other tombs were there ; hence the word, half Greek and half Latin, κατὰ

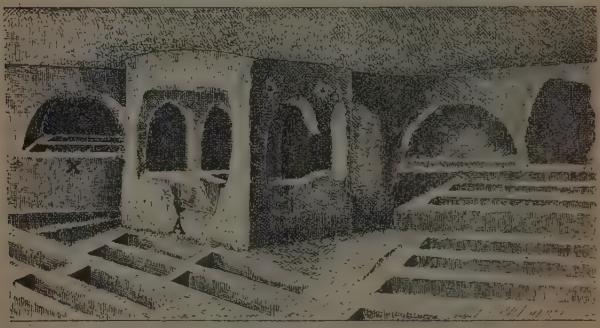


Fig. 3 — Catacombs of Sicily.

cumbo, near the restingplace, or the sleepingplace, *ad accubitoria*. At any rate, only in the IX century this hybrid word was applied to all the underground cemeteries.

The true name for the Christian collegiate tombs, their really appropriate name, was *cemetery*, from the Greek κοιμητήριον. Nevertheless in Greece and in Greek inscriptions, the word was used to indicate a single tomb or a small

hypogeum. Its meaning gives precisely the idea of death and of burial; hence the expressions (epigraphical) of *dormitio*, sleep, *depositio*, deposition, *somnum pacis*, sleep of peace; hence also the words *cubiculus or cubiculum*, sleeping-room,

Fig. 4 — African catacombs *(Bull. d'Arch. chrét.*, 1905).

bed, given the sepulcral rooms, although this word was used also by the Pagans.

Even before Christianity, there was a Jewish catacomb in Rome, going back perhaps to the time of Pompeius. It would then appear that this catacomb had been the prototype or the mo-

del of the Christian cemeteries. Nevertheles, as J. B. De Rossi says, Jews and Christians had a common type for their tombs in Palestine (1).

Article II.

Generic Names indicating cemeteries — Ground in which catacombs are dug — Etruscan tomb. Roman tomb — Christian hypogeum.

As found in writings and documents, various names designate the cemeteries. Here are the principal ones; Area, crypta, crypta arenaria, arenarium.

Areae was the name given to Christian cemeteries in Africa, whence the cry: Areae non sint! Down or Away with the Areae!» This cry was shouted by the rabble, rushing to profane and destroy the Christian tombs (2).

The word *Area* supposes precisely a cemetery above ground; this is corroborated by an inscription found in Maurifania: « Aream ad sepulchra cultor Verbi (Evelpius) contulit. i. e.

(1) « Roma sotterranea » t I, p. 90 The Jewish catacomb in question was found recently along the Via Portuensis; it was in such a bad state, that no repairs were possible.

(2) Tertull., Ad Scap., c. 3: « Sub Hilariano praeside, de areis sepulturarum nostrarum acclamatum est: Areae non sint! » « Whilst Hilarion was in charge, we heard the cry against the Areae of our tombs: Away with them ».

Evelpius, adorer of the Word, gave this area for tombs ». Area was the name given also to the ground above the cemetery or around a grave...

Crypta meant any kind of subterranean place, and designated as well the galleries as the **cubiculi** of the catacombs.

Fig. 5 — Section of an arenary gallery changed into a cemetery.

Crypta arenaria differed from the foregoing name only in as much as it supposed this subterranean place to have been dug in hard sand stone.

Crypta arenarum means the same as **arenarium** and signifies probably a sand-pit: **arenae fodina.**

Whoever studies ancient documents must needs remember these distinctions, lest he fall into

the same errors, which, during several centuries, caused the predecessors of Rev. F. Marchi and of the De Rossi brothers, to strike and follow a wrong trail. It was the belief that the catacombs were nothing other than ancient pozzuolana quarries which the Christians adopted for cemeteries, or a place of refuge, for themselves, a sure asylum in time of persecution. More than that, it was even said that the catacombs e-

Fig. 6 — Section of a sand stone gallery changed into a cemetery.

xtended far under the city of Rome, passed under the bed of the Tiber, and met again at a central point. Some thought that they communicated with the **puticoli** of the Esquiline Hill.

The very nature of the stone in which the Catacombs are dug, disproves the opinion that they were ancient pozzuolana quarries. The Roman soil, naturally volcanic, presents rocks varying in cohesion and hardness. Leaving aside gradations, they may be divided into three kinds:

Lthoidal tufa, the harder kind, is most ex-

tensively used in constructions; when it is cut into small regular squares, it is also called *saxum quadratum*, *(squared stone)*, and, also, on account of its reddish colour, *lapis ruber*, red stone; the softer kind, easily ground to sand or pozzuolana, was used by the Ancients in preparing cement.

It was of different qualities, and was preferred to river sand. The last kind, simply called *tufa*, was of a ferreous nature and not hard enough to serve as building stone, nor soft enough to be easily ground to powder.

Now, the catacombs, with rare exceptions, are dug in this tufa, which bears no distinctive name, for the simple reason that it was useless for anything; whilst the sand-pits of different sizes communicate with the Catacombs; and the difference that existed between them can be easily seen. The catacombs have architectonic forms, corners at right angles; the sandpits, on the contrary, do not show any special forms, and their wide passages and easy turns would permit the carting of pozzuolana, an impossible thing in the Catacombs. Figs. 5 and 6 demonstrate well the work to be done to change a hundred yards of a sand-pit into a cemetery: retaining-walls and tombs had to be built.

Then again it is an established fact that the Catacombs do not extend under the City, but are always to be found outside the walls; besi-

des, the law also forbade digging and burying within the walls of Rome.

Note also that the lowest corridors or passages of the Catacombs are at least fifteen feet

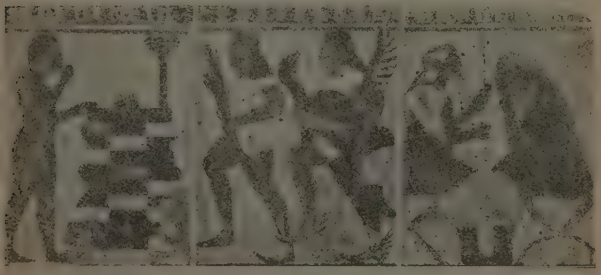
Fig. 7 — The five stories in the cemetery of S. Callistus

above the bottom of the river Almone, and consequently about thirty-five feet above the bottom of the Tiber. A view of fig. 7, presenting a section of the five stories of the cemetery of

St. Callistus, the deepest known up to the present, gives us a good demonstration.

Finally, there is nothing more unlikely than couloirs under the beds of rivers; it may be readily understood that humidity itself would have prevented their digging.

Let us conclude: the galleries themselves of the Catacombs, sometimes very long, the walls of which were fully lined with tombs, make



Fig, 8 — Etruscan sepulcral paintings.

known their origin. The numerous tunnels were purely for funeral puposes, as a matter of fact, the oriental system of burial was followed, because it was most in harmony with the dogma of the Resurrection of the body, the body being deposited in virgin soil, there to remain until the day of the resurrection.

The Etruscans believed in a future life, which was to take place in the tomb itself; they therefore decorated the interior of the tomb with statues, paintings, or anything capable of ma-

king this second imaginary life agreeable. No living eye was to contemplate these paintings and ornaments; the most clever artists were supposed to execute them without any hope that their work should ever be praised or that their names should ever be made known: they had worked for a dead person, (figs. 8 and 9).

The Romans, on the contrary, those living

Fig. 9 — Interior of Etruscan tomb.

at the time of the Empire, to whom it was forbidden by law to deposit any treasures in the tombs, and who placed the idea of another life rather in the fame they would enjoy with posterity, were most careful in ornamenting the tombs externally. These tombs were built as *mausoleums*, mortuary chapels, which should re-

peat to passers-by the glory of those who were now no more; the *bas-reliefs* related their achievements and deeds symbolically or allegorically; sometimes even, the bust of the deceased, facing the Road, seemed to arrest the passer-by, saying to him the very words of the epitaph: « Stop, you (who) pass! Sta, viator! ».

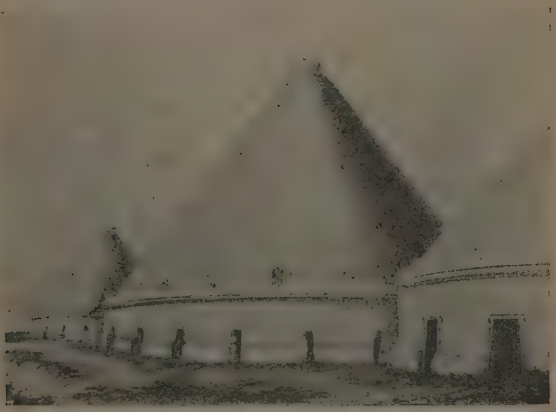


Fig. 10 — Ancient tombs of Cervetri.

The Catacombs therefore, as may be seen, dug in the form of subterranean passages which united rooms or spaces occasionally decorated with paintings, often bare and without any coating or *badigeon*, formed a curious contrast to the surrounding Pagan tombs.

Begin to have an idea about the matter by examining fig. 11 These mausoleums, resplen-

dent with various kinds of marble, and lining the consular highways, were followed by catacombal galleries constructed in the fields; they were devoid of nearly all ornament, and received light from a few oil lamps fixed to the sides of the tombs. What a contrast! Still, these two sorts of tombs had several points of contact, as will be seen in the following article.

Article III.

Origin of the Christian cemetery.

The Pagan tombs were divided into family tombs, *gentilitia*, and collegiate tombs, *columbaria*. (fig. 12). The Christian catacombs are connected with the former by their origin and foundation; with the latter, by their complete constitution, and arrangement.

It was quite natural for the first patrician families converted to Christianity, to prepare for themselves a tomb in harmony with their beliefs; but it was not less natural for them, also, not to conceive instantly and from the very beginning the plan of a subterranean necropolis.

For this reason, their tombs were small underground rooms, and, as a general rule, were marked on the outside by a corresponding monument. The ruins at the entrance to the galleries of the Flavii (fig. 13) prove this. There, indeed, to the right of the Ardeatine Way, the members of the family of the Emperor Diocle-

tian, not only dug the magnificent hypogeum, but also built the monument on the outside.

Thus the starting point in the development of the cemeteries was always, or nearly so, a family tomb. The owner would permit the burial therein of the members of his family converted to Christianity: and then, out of ardent charity, which made the first Christians as one

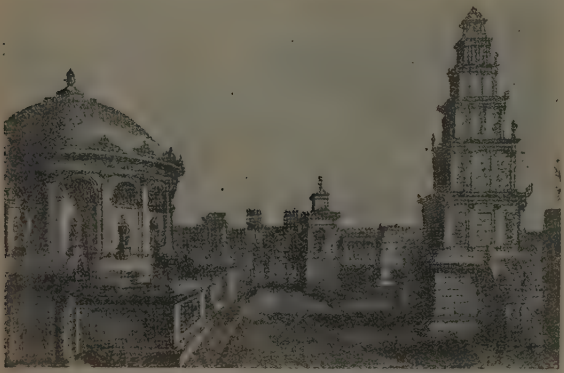


Fig. 11 — Roman tombs of the Via Appia (by Cantina)
Taken from the little Church *Quo vadis* at the Porta San Sebastiano.

soul in one body, he received equally for burial the deceased Christians of his neighbourhood.

Such is the origin of the principal Christian cemeteries of the first and second centuries. The private right of property protected the common funeral property, and the owner could, to a certain extent, dispose of his tomb to his liking.

Roman law and religion declared as *religious* the ground in which a corpse had been deposited, and the severest penalties were decreed against those who would violate tombs. — It is evident that, upon the great extension of Christian cemeteries, the magistrates took and had to take cognisance of them.

Therein lay a great danger for the safety of the cemeteries; there was a law, indeed, dating from the time of Emperor Trajan, which forbade illicit colleges, i, e. secret or not recognised colleges; this measure had been taken not only against the Christians, but also against all the Oriental sects then swarming in Rome. The Christians therefore tried to expand in depth, by digging two, three, or more stories. (1)

Fig. 12 — Columbarium of the Via Appia.

There remained, though, for them one means

(1) It was only after peace was given the Church, it seems, that two more stories were dug where the stone was dry, and above the bottom of the rivers. Hence, Catacombs of 4 or 5 stories).

to justify their extension of cemeteries and to escape the *fiscal* rigour: it was their uniting in « *funeral colleges* ». This step the Christians took, and therein we find a second point of resemblance between the Pagan and the Christian cemeteries. (2)

Certain it is, that the poorer class, and e-

Fig. 13 — Entrance of the hypogea, gallery of the Flavi.

specially the franchised or freedmen could, under the name of *tenuiores*, (small, needy, of little value) form colleges or societies, and prepare their tombs at less expense. Examples of

(2) See my book: Notiones archaeologiae christianae, disciplinis theologicis et liturgicis coordinatae, Desclee, 1909, vol. I, pars prior, p. 299 sqq., fig. 94 and 95).

such colleges are found in some of the inscriptions discovered: one, at Civita-Lavinia, tells us how even slaves could, with the permission of their master, share this privilege; for, authority recognized the statutes of the college; there was a prescription to the effect that the effigy of a slave whose body had not been given away by his master should be respected: another to refuse funeral honours to every member of a college who would commit suicide.

No doubt the Christians made use of this liberty. In fact, the cemeteries in Rome and in Africa took this collegiate character; after the death of Valerian, and after the victory of Constantine over Maxentius, restitution of the cemeteries was made, *not* to private persons but to the *Church*. Inscriptions inform us also, that besides these cemeteries, there were others in common: the « *areae* of the brethren », the place where « all the brethren were buried », and others again, « administered by the Church ».

The poor and the franchised could then have *their cemeteries*; before the law and before the college of pontiffs whose duty it was to regulate the « res funeraria, » funeral matters, Christians and Romans were on the same footing; thanks to the *right of association*, the former were able to get in favour of their cemeteries, if not a *legal* existence, at least a practically equivalent toleration.

This state of affairs seemed to assure the Christians of a long and peaceful possession of their cemeteries, when the persecution of Valerius proved to them, all of a sudden, how precarious their condition was. By an imperial edict, the collegiate cemeteries were confiscated, and persons assembled in them were punished with death.

I shall not further trace the vicissitudes which Christian cemeteries underwent up to the peace of Constantine. I shall again speak of them, when describing the cemetery of St. Callistus; I shall draw your attention only to this: if the Catacombs have been used as places of refuge, that has happened rarely and only at the time of the most furious persecutions.

The sacred functions of Sunday could be celebrated within the enclosure of the cemetery only when it was impossible to hold it in the mansions of the Patricians who were Christians. To this effect, after the third century, edifices were built in the form of *exhedrae*, adapted for these meetings. In case this enclosure was not absolutely sheltered against annoyances, the *arenarea* offered more spacious room and a healthier atmosphere. We know that St. Hippolytus was buried alive in one these sand-pits, where he and his followers gathered, and that the martyrs Chrysanthus, Daria and their companions suffered the same fate.

Such is the true idea one is to form of the

Catacombs: of their origin, their development, their tolerated or quasi legal existence. They form, as it were, a net-work about Rome, and their accessible parts count at present several thousand miles of galleries. They are divided into different cemeteries or groups of cemeteries, isolated from one another, because the consular highways and the tombs bordering them, have been an insuperable obstacle to their individual extension. To dig under the ground belonging to another, was to violate « property rights » : this is why the ancient highways separate so completely, one from another, the cemeteries dug at either Side.

Article IV.

Nomenclature of a Christian hypogeum.

Without doubt, the first Christians had to have a special nomenclature in order to distinguish the different parts of a hypogeum. In the inscriptions we find the terms : *crypta*,... *cubiculus*... *locus*... *arcosolium*... *bisomus*... *trisomus*... *quadrisomus*... *tabula*... *formae*... *luminare*... *pila*... *etc. etc*... Today the name of *loculi* is given to the parallelepiped openings, dug in the walls of the galleries, in which the bodies were deposited. These openings could hold even two, three or four bodies ; hence the names, *bisomus*, *trisomus*, *quadrisomus*, from the Greek word : σῶμα, body, corpse, and bi-tri-quadri : two, three, four.

The edge was grooved, fitting a tongued slab of marble or of terra cotta, destined to close the tomb; the *joint* of the *loculus* and of the *slab* was covered with mortar or cement The slab very probably was the more precious; for it is doubtful whether, before the peace of the Church, the *loculus* had to be bought, as in later years. Then it was not always feasible to get marble; they used tiles, two feet long, which were bro-

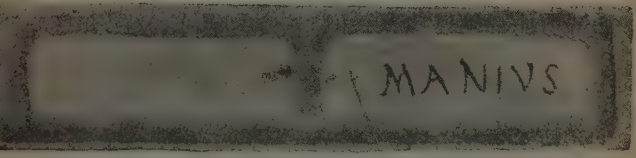


Fig. 14 — Closed loculus.

ken into several fragments and adapted to the opening of the *loculus* (fig. 14).

The inscription was painted or engraved. Sometimes, nevertheless, they wrote on the mortar still fresh on the border, and they placed some sign there also, or small vases filled with perfumes, in order to recognize the tomb. Rarely a phial containing the blood of the martyr was put there. (figs. 15 and 16).

The *arcosolia* were more elaborate tombs; their name was derived from the fact that an arch was built over the tomb. In this case the slab was laid horizontally, and could be made use of as an altar for the celebration of the Holy Sa-

crifice of Mass. The *loculus* and the *arcosolium* were called *locus*, and could hold one or more corpses (fig. 18). Peace being established in the Church, the walls and the *lunettes* of the arcosolia, and the vacant spaces between tombs were often used for other loculi; often bodies were

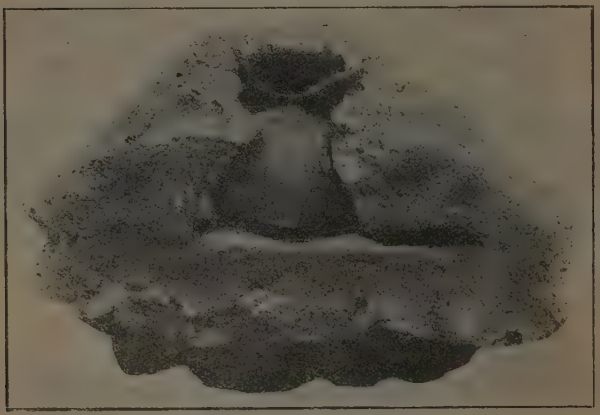


Fig. 15 — Urn affixed to a loculus.

buried under the pavement of the corridors; but these tombs were in use from the III century, and received the name of *formae*, perhaps from the name of water-conduits, bearing this name, and which they resembled.

Lucernaria, sky-lights, light-holes, were large openings made through the ceiling of the cubiculi or of the galleries, and communicating

with the open air above the ground. They were few during the persecutions; but increased in number in the IV century. They are always to be found above two or more underground contiguous and communicating chambers; the reason for this is readily understood: during the celebration of the funeral rites, which la-

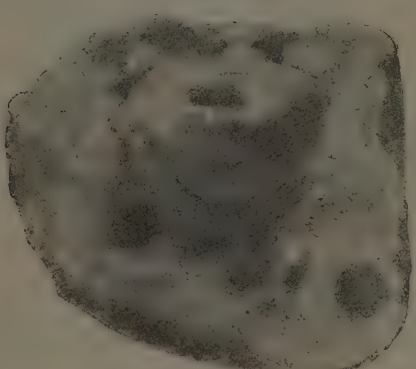


Fig. 16 — Lamp affixed to a loculus.

sted two hours or more, it became absolutely necessary to renew the air, in order not to inconvenience the breathing of the faithful, (fig. 19). Other names were certainly used, especially those of catabaticum (a descent, a place to go down), and of pila, pillar, which, however, are found but once in all subterranean Rome (1).

(1) See my *Notiones archaeol., christ.*, vol. I, pars I, cap. 3.

It is easily understood that the uppermost galleries were dug at different times. This is sometimes a very valuable chronological indica-

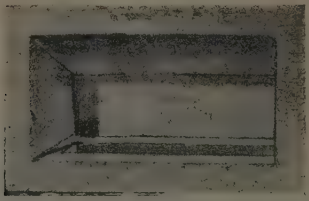


Fig. 17 — Table-tomb

tion, and the learned Pr. Bonavenia, S. J., drew the attention of the archaeologist to this fact. An untouched gallery, the only one found until

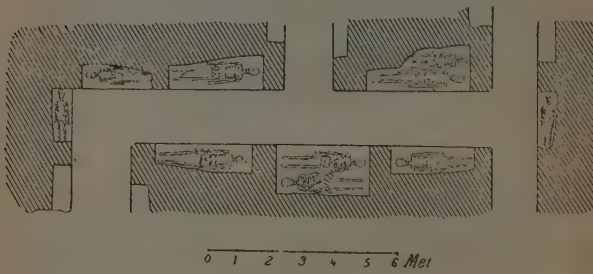


Fig. 18 — Arrangements of bodies in the loculi.

the present time, in the cemetery of Commodilla, may be divided, on account of its height, or depth, into three epochs. Now, the most ancient inscriptions are to be found in the highest part,

the least ancient in the lowest. A gallery was at first dug somewhat higher than the height of a man; after it was filled with bodies, its dimensions were doubled, by sinking it an equal depth; finally the lowest part was dug.

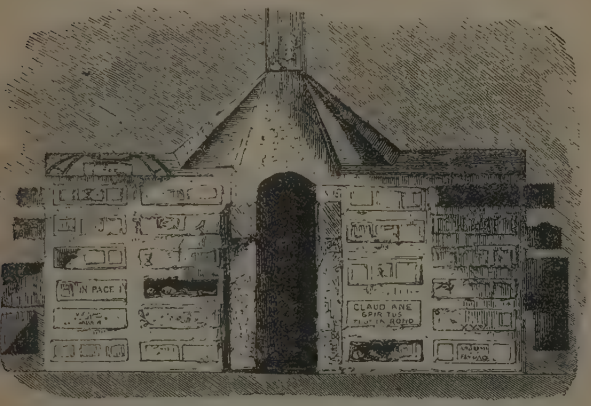


Fig. 19 — Cubiculum with light-shaft.

The same savant formulated other chronological indications, taken from the regularity of the closings. The more ancient tombs are the more carefully closed.

The cuts which I put in the text, keep me from insisting any more on this matter. The reader will notice in fig. 17 (p. 29), a form of tomb styled by De Rossi « sepolcro a mensa », a

table-sepulchre, a tomb with a horizontal slab. In reality, we do not know its original name.

The special seats dug in the tufa in certain places, were for the use of the pontiffs. The faithful and the clergy had those low benches which were dug all around a cubiculus. They were used either for liturgical meetings, or for the *Agapae*. More likely, however, the Agapae took place above ground, in the exhedrae and the exterior edifices. There, also, the habitations of the grave-diggers or excavators and the cemetery wardens were to be found; the ground all about must have been surrounded by a wall, or covered with all kinds of rubbish, cultivated as a garden, little different, taking all in all, from the areae of the Pagans.

Summary of the preceding articles; abandoning the Catacombs; study of Christian Archaeology.

In the beginning, the Christian cemeteries did not differ from Roman tombs; they were protected by the same legal safeguards; as private properties, they had a legal existence; as collegiate properties, they had a quasi-legal or tolerated, though precarious, existence; their very name indicated the idea they inspired: dormitory, sleeping-place, (dormitorium, accubitorium, in Greek, κοιμητήριον). They were dug by the gravediggers belonging to the inferior clergy, but were administered by the Deacons

and were subject to their respective ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Valerian was the first to confiscate them; they were restored by his son Gallian after the death of his father; Diocletian confiscated them again, but they were restored partially by Maxentius.

Fig. 20 — Tombs grouped around a cemetery.

and totally by Constantine, in virtue of the edict of Milan, A. D. 313.

This epoch most probably witnessed the first burials at the surface of the ground; those tiny sanctuaries wherein the Divine mysteries had been so often celebrated during the terrible persecutions seemed simply to be stormed; tombs began to rise all around, to be built aga-

inst the walls, and finally to occupy the very floors of the sanctuaries. (fig. 20).

Nevertheless they continued to bury under ground, on account of the immense and ever increasing number of converts: the Pontiffs Mark, Julius, Liberius, and Damasus, still increase the number and the size of the cemeteries; the smallest space is utilized; a third, a fourth and even a fifth story is added; water alone deeper down stops the digging.

Then Alaric comes with his barbarians, (410), leaving nought but traces of destruction in his wake; Immediately after his departure, the tombs of the martyrs were repaired, and the inscriptions renewed. But, lo! another scourge of God, another devastating hurricane breaks upon the Eternal City: the Goths! (537) As soon as it had passed over, the ruined and profaned tombs were again and again renovated, until the popes were forced, on account of the repeated assaults of the barbarians, to remove to the interior of Rome the precious remains of the heroes of Faith.

This catastrophy was necessarily followed by another. These tombs, once the object of frequent pilgrimages became deserted when despoiled of their treasures. Earth and rubbish closed up the lucernaria; alluvia got into the galleries, the sanctuaries were transformed into farmers'houses, and, under the plough, the venerable souvenirs of the first and most sorrowful strug-

gles of the Church of Rome were scattered confusedly, into a horrible pell-mell.

Though for many centuries the Catacombs in general were forgotten; yet certain cemetries were never lost of, sight especially that of Satnt Sebastian: the indications in the Martyrologies, the ecclesiastical Calenders, and the Acts of the Martyrs, ga- thered in togethe, as into a group, all the sou venirs of the cemeteries along the Appian Way. In this cemetery was placed the tomb of the Apostles, of St. Sebastian, of the Pontiffs, of St. Cecilia and of her companions;an archbishop of Bourges, in 1409, put a solemn incriptions there in remembrance of so many site glorious martyrs. This monument,n ot very old, is still in its place.

Under the auspices of Pope Pius IX, and by the generons contributions of many benefactors J. B. De Rossi made discoveries which establish beyond doubt the true site of the cemetery of St. Callistus, distinguishing it, as the Catacombs, forcibly from that of Praetextatus. Those are new pages to the history of the Church reconstituted by means of monuments; these discoveries caused a prodigious development in the study of underground Rome and of Christian antiquities.

Now, De Rossi and his illustrious master, Fr. Marchi, S. J. had as predecessors in these studies:

Fr. Panvinio, St. Philip Neri, Ciacconio, Winghe, Giovanni Macario, Antonio Bosio, Pompeio Ugonio, Boldetti, Marangoni, D'Agincourt, and many others. They went down into the Catacombs, and there studied the monuments. Antonio Bosio was ahead of them all. « He was the Christopher Columbus of the Catacombs », says De Rossi; his works, published only after his death, in 1634, have helped De Rossi, more than any other work.

In Chap. II we shall show the results of his studies. The following table shows the cemeteries along the Roman highways. (N. B. Via, means highway.)

Roman highways: Names of cemeteries, time of persecutions, time of peace:

Appian Way:	Cemetery of St Calistus	St. Sixtus, St. Caecilia. St. Cornelius.
»		St. Januarius. St. Urban.
	Cemetery of Pretextatus	Sts. Tiburtius, Valerianus, and Maximus.
	Ad Catacumbas	St. Sebastian
Ardeatine Way:	Cemetery of Domitilla	St. Petronilla, Ss. Nereus and Achilleus.
Ardeatine Way:	Cem. of Basileus	Ss. Mark and Marcellus
Ostian Way:	Cem. of Commodilla	Ss. Felix and Adauctus
Porto Way:	Cem. of Pontianus or of	Ss. Abdon and Senenn the Ursum pileatum; (the pilar Bear).

Aurelian Way:	Cem. of Lucina	Ss. Processus and Martinian.
	Cem. of Calipotus	St. Callistus.
Flaminian Way:	Ad Clivum cucumeris, the cucumber hill.	
Ancient Salarian Way:	Cem. of Basilla	St. Hermes.
		Ss. Protus and Hyacinth.
New Salarian Way:	Cem. of Maximus	St. Felicitas.
	Cem. of Thrason	St. Saturninus.
»	Iordanorum (of the Jordans).	St. Alexander.
»	Cem. St. Priscilla	St. Sylvester, St. Marcellus.
Nomentanian Way:	Cem. Ostrianum or ad Nymphas S. Petri (cem. Ostrian, or the Fountain of St. Peter.)	St. Agnes.
Tiburtine Way:	Cem. of Cyriacus	St. Laurence.
Labican Way:	Cem. Ad duos lauros. Of the two laurel-trees	Ss. Marcellinus and Peter.
Latin Way:	Cem. of Apronianus,	St. Eugene.

Chapter II.

Epigraphy and art in the Catacombs

At the beginning of this subject, a question suggests itself: what are the meaning and object of Epigraphy and Art in the Catacombs

Some students wish to recognise in the catacombal Art at least, and perhaps in Epigraphy and in the symbols relating thereto, an object lesson, a sort of catechism painted on the walls of the tombs. Others on the contrary, without setting forth any particular ideas, teach, that the end of the Christian sepulchral Art is not different from the end of the Pagan sepulchral Art: they say, that it is a sepulchral Art: its object being to suggest man's last end.

The latter class seems to be right; and are divided in two classes. Some exaggerate the eschatological idea, as if nothing were expressed on the tombs without reference or allusion to eternal life, or to the obtaining of happiness; others, see there a predominant intention of expressing

the mind of the church with regard to the dead. We think the latter are right.

This is therefore how I formulated the preliminary question: just as, upon the Pagan tomb his religious beliefs concerning another life were reflected, as it were, and also concerning his state and wants: so also, on the tomb of the Christian, there appeared corresponding allusions to the condition of the dead. Our holy Mother the Church taught that nothing undefiled could enter the kingdom of Heaven; that the period of purification could be shortened by the intercession of the saints and the suffrages of the living, and that souls, once admitted to eternal beatitude, could, in their turn, become the advocates of the living and the dead. Finally in her official prayers, to hasten the admission of the departed into Paradise, the church usually reminds the Lord of the faith of the departed, of the weakness of human nature, of the power and mercy of God. These ideas must needs be reflected in the decorations and inscriptions of the tombs.

It is true, that we may draw a true and profound dogmatical teaching from all: but this teaching was not and can not be the principal end of the sepulchral art. Unless we have the documents, we may not go beyond the limits laid down by history,

Article I.

Epigraphy.

Epigraphy may be considered from a literary or from a doctrinal stand-point. In the former case, the primitive Christian epitaphs do not present valuable models. Now, as regards doctrine, the engraver may never have had the intention of putting forth his own beliefs: true, but the epitaphs make known to us nearly the whole

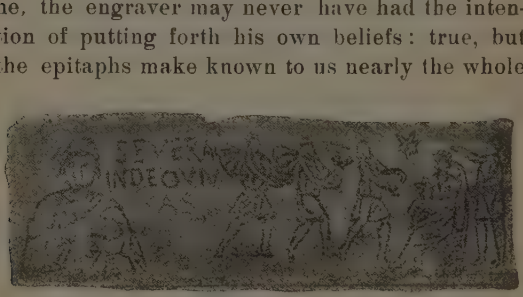


Fig. 21 — « *Severa, live in God!* »

order of religious ideas, which have been drawn from the teachings of the Apostles; we thus face a fact which the Scholastics following Aristotle, have formulated in these words: « Nil volitum quin praecognitum ». Nothing willed, but what has been known before » These desires, these intimate heartfelt affections, expressed thousands of times in many different ways, on the sepulchral stones, reveal to us the ideas and the faith of those who expressed them.

In the beginning, before the Christians had

their own formulary, only simple names were found, and rarely the same formulae as in Pagan epigraphy. These names themselves, together with the paleographic character, reveal to us the antiquity of the inscriptions. The style nevertheless will gradually form itself: it is born of the necessity of the soul; it springs from the heart whose affections elevated by faith and spiritualised, as it were, offer us the most spontaneous and touching prayer ever sent forth to be with God « in Deo ».

In the Lord, In Domino. Vivas in Deo. May thou live in God., Live in God. » This expression is mostly repeated in the II and III centuries. Join with it this wish for peace: « Pax tecum, peace be with thee... Vivas in pace live in peace, Priscus in pacem (suscipiatur) May Priscus be received in peace ».

The analogy of these formulae allow us to add the following: « Eugen: spiritus (spiritus tuus in bono... « Eugene, may thy spirit be in happiness » ; which is equivalent to this other liturgical one: In pace spiritus Silvani. Amen — May the soul of Silvanus be in peace, Amen! » Now, both are reproduced in the following » : Baccis dulcis anima in pace Domini — Baccis, sweet soul, be in the peace of the Lord! »

This type of epigraph was common in all the churches in the world; the very same formula is found in Latin and in Greek, in the East and

in the West, in Africa, in Spain, in Italy, in Gaul and everywhere.

But the formula becomes theologically much more important, when it contains the names of the Blessed Trinity:

Kar Kyriaco filio dolcissimo vivas in Spirito Sancto (N Spirito, for in ispiritu). Dear Cyriac sweetest son live in the Holy Spirit.

How expressive, eloquent and explicit these sentences are in proclaiming the Divinity of Christ! Here are now a few, in which the Father and the Son are united.

AUGURINE IN DOM (mo) ET T « O Augurinus live in the Lord and in Christ Iesus.

PAX DOMINI et T CUM FAUSTINO ATTICO — The peace of the Lord and of the Christ be with Faustinus Atticus!

Inscriptions, bearing the names of the Blessed Trinity, are rare; those uniting the names of the first and the second Persons are more numerous: De Rossi justly remarks, that this is owing to the Gnostic heresies. In different ways, they perverted the mystery of the Blessed Trinity; but their errors related to the Father and the Son; they confounded them as if They were ONE PERSON, or they denied the Divinity of Christ, and made the Father suffer. The formulae, then: in Domino et Iesu Christo — pax Domini et Christi — Ἐν Θεῷ καὶ ἐν χριστῷ and other similar ones are affirmations of the

true doctrine of the Church in those times, when the dogmatical divergencies were so rife.

Here is a very old epitaph, mentioning the Trinity : IUCVNDIANUS qui credidit in CHRISTUM IE Sum vivit (or, vivat) in patrE. ET IS Piritu sancto. Iucundianus who believed in Jesus Christ, lives (or let him live) in the Father, and the Son and the Holy Ghost.

The Angels are not forgotten ; in the most ancient prayers for the departed, these celestial spirits are asked to hasten to meet the soul and present it to the Almighty :

SEVERO FILIO DVL
CISSIMO LAURENTIUS,
PATER BENEMERENTI QVI VI
XIT ANN. IIII. ME. VIII. DIES. V.
ACCERCITVS DB ANGELIS VII. IDUS. IANNA.

To Severus, sweetest son, most deserving Lawrence, his father. He lived four years, eight months, and five days. He was summoned by the Angels, the seventh day of the Ides of, january,

This formula is either a commentary on a sentence of St. Cyprian, or it may be inspired by the same ; he calls death « accersio dominica » the call of the Lord. The same formula, more complete, has been found in a mutilated inscription, completed by De Rossi in this way : Domine qui dedisti omnibus accersionem suscipe animam Bonifacii per sanctum nomen tuum. Lord who callest all to Thyself, receive the soul of Boniface, by Thy holy name ».

There is still another class of epitaphs which calls for our attention: they refer to the belief in a place of purification, before admission to Paradise. The Protestants have always denied this dogma. But they ought to admit their error in face of the eloquence of the monuments.

Here are some inscriptions:

« Spiritus tuus in refrigerio: May thy soul be in a refreshing place ». Augvste in bono refrigeres dulcis. O sweet August, mayest thou be refreshed in the (sovereign good, happines).

Such inscriptions are very numerous. This idea of refreshment, obtained through the prayers of the living, or through the intercession of the saints, cannot be understood otherwise than as a passing from purgatory to paradise. Paradise is precisely called a place of refreshment, and in the visions of St. Perpetua, we read that the saint saw her deceased brother Dinocrates quenching his thirst at a fountain, after she had offered prayers for his relief: Vidi Dinocratem refrigerantem; I saw Dinocrates quenching his thirst. The canon of Mass, in the Roman missal, at the Memento for the dead, has the same expression: « Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamus. To these O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, grant, we pray Thee, a place of refreshment, of light and of peace ».

This accord between the funeral liturgies and the epigraphic formulae is admirable, indeed; this harmony is an indication of the very high antiquity of this sort of prayer. There is a conformity, most perfect of sentiments and practices between the first Christians and the Christians of today. I have already said, that the dogma of the Communion of Saints is natural to the mind of the Christian.

This belief, contained in Revelation and proposed by the Church, answers to a real need of the soul; which makes it still more reasonable. What is most consoling for us, is the fact, that not only the whole of Tradition, handed down by the Fathers, but also the most popular, the most public and the most solemn testimony, I mean to say, the epitaphs » attest to an order of ideas absolutely similar. We believe in the intercession of the saints, of the departed who have arrived at their heavenly glory; it seems to us, that if the souls in purgatory could speak to us, they would repeat the words of Job.: « Miseremini mei miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei... quia manus Domini tetigit me. Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you my friends, for the hand of the Lord has stricken me ».

Now let us examine the Christian epitaphs, and we shall see this admirable harmony of doctrine and sentiments:

« Santi martyres apud Deum erunt advocati:

The holy Martyrs shall be (our or your) advocates with God ».

« Commando Basilla innocentia(ma) Gemelli (Sant) Aasilla : I recommend (unto thee) the innocence of Gemellus ».

« Martyres sancti in mente havite Masia (m) O holy martyrs, bear Mary in mind ».

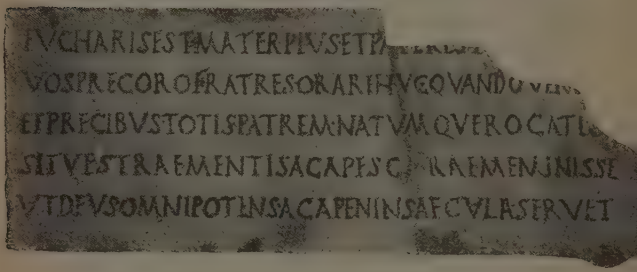


Fig. 22 — Cemetery of Priscilla, 11 century.

« Refrigeri tibi dom(i) nos (H)ip(p)olitus. May St. Hippolytus refresh thee. i. e. may he obtain refreshment for thee through his intercession ».

Ruta omnibus subdita et affabil.

Lis bibet in nomine petri.

In pace.

« Ruta obedient and affable towards all, shall live in the name of Peter (by his protection), in the peace of Christ ».

« Vos precor o Fratres orare hvc qvando venitis
et precibvs totis Patrem Natvmque rogatis
Sit vestrae mentis Agapes carne memenisse
Vt Devs Omnipotens Agapen in saecvla servet.

« I beseech you, brethren when you come here to pray, and when with your whole soul you invoke the Father and the Son, remember dear Agape, that the Almighty God keep Agape for all eternity. (Cut. 24) » What a sweet prayer! According to classical epigraphy, the departed himself addresses this prayer to his brethren, in Christ.

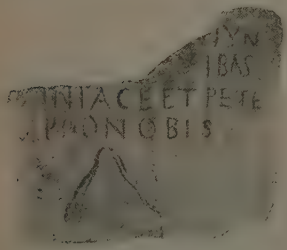


Fig. 23
« Vive n , eace and pray for us.

« Qvisque de fratribus legerit roget Devm vt sancto et innocente spirito (u) ad Devm suscipiatur. May each of the Brethren, after having read, pray God, that his holy and innocent soul may be received by the Lord ».

In the case of an innocent soul, for instance the soul of an infant, the parents would recommend themselves to it as to a saint, in this manner: « Pete pro parentes (parentibus) Uvos (turs) Matronata Matrona quae vixit annvm i dies lii. Pray for your parents. O Matrona, who have become a Matron. She lived one year and fifty-two days. »

But if they believed the departed to be yet in purgatory, before recommending themselves to his or her prayers, the Christians would wish him or her, peace, refreshment: (fig. 23).

« Zoson, Zerus spiritum tvvm in pacem (sv-

scipiat) et pete pro nobis. Zoson May the true Saviour, Christ, receive thy soul in peace. And pray for us ».

(Fig. 24) Gentianus fidelis in pace. Qui vixit annis XXI mens (mensibus) VIII. In orationis (orationibus) tuis roges pro nobis quia scimus te in ☧. May faithful Gentianus repose in peace. He lived 21 years, 8 months, and 16 days. In thy prayers intercede for us for we know that thou art with Christ ».

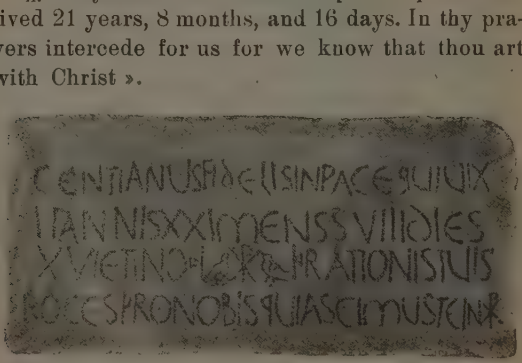


Fig. 24.

« Vincentia in Christo pete pro Phoebe et pro Virginio ejus.

Vincentia, live in Christ! Pray for Phoebe and for her Virginius ».

Virginius and *Virginis* were generally the names of the two spouses who had contracted but one marriage.

This is sufficient to give us an idea of the importance of our subject. Much more could be said concerning the destiny of the soul after death.

The epitaph of deacon Severus reproduced in the description of the cemetery of St. Callistus (1) pertains to it.

Article II.

Epigraphy and the Sacraments.

In reference to this matter also, Christian epigraphy furnishes us with precious documents and gives us information which would be sought for in vain in the writings of the Fathers.

Baptism: It is the gate of, the entrance to, the Church. It is the first grace by excellence. With it began a new existence, and this idea is expressed in the inscriptions on the tombs.

« Benemerenti Antoniae Cyriaceti quae vixit annis XVIII M. II D. XXVI accepta dei gratia qvarta die virgo obiit. To the memory of the very worthy Antonia Cyriaces who lived 19 years, 2 months and 26 days and died a virgin, the fourth day after having received the grace of God (Baptism).

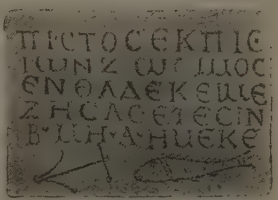


Fig. 25 (Wilpert, *Prinz der christ. Arch.*, pl. II, 3).

(1 Who wishes to get a more extended knowledge of Christian epigraphy, may consult my «Notionés archaeol. christ. vol. II, lib. I,». The treatise on Epigraphy may be bought separately.

The formula « accepta gratia Dei » was the customary one; the ecclesiastical name for Baptism is never met with; it may have been on account of the *arcanum* that the formula was changed, though, one word was used: accepit, recepit, percepit, consecutus or consecuta est, he or she received Baptism, « consecutio » reception of Baptism: For instance:

« Perit ann. XXXV ex die acceptionis svae vixit dies Lvii;

He died at the age of 35 years, the 57th day after his Baptism;

Consecutus est II non. decembr. ex die consecutionis in saeculo fvit ad vsque VII Idvs Decembr. He obtained (the grace of baptism, and lived in this world until the 7 th of December.

Tyche dvlcis'vixit anno vno mensibus x diebus xv Accepit VIII K. Reddidit die SS. O sweet Tyche! She lived 1 year, 10 months and 10 days, received baptism the... and gave up her spirit the same day. (SS. means. « as above written). »

(Fig. 25) These examples show us how important to the early Christians was the title of *faithful,* and prove that baptism was administered to children. A faithful wrote upon his tomb: ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΚ ΠΙΣΤΩΝ ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ « a faithful born of faithful parents. Sosmos... » formula which imitated the proud formula of the noble consuls: consul ex consulibus, consul born of consular parents ».

An inscription shows us, how a woman who loved tenderly her grand-child, seeing him near

death, asked the Church to have him baptized before his death.

Confirmation. The sacrament of Confirmation which confers the Holy Ghost, and was administered immediately after Baptism was, so to say, obscured by the importance of the first sacrament. Here again the discipline of the *arcanum* did not allow the use of formulae too explicit.

It were therefore useless to seek a proper name for the sacrament of Confirmation in the inscriptions. *Consigatorum* was the name for the place where the sacrament was administered: hence the words, « *cosignatio, consignatus* » which signify the character, or signed or marked with the chrism. In this we are borne out by the most ancient Fathers, and especially by the word of St. Cornelius about Novatian: « Signaculo chrismatis ab episcopo consignatus non est, unde nec Spiritum sanctum unquam potuit promereri. Novatian was never signed with the sign of chrism, (was never confirmed), and hence he could never have received the Holy Ghost ».

Inscriptions containing the same expression must be understood in the same sense; v. g.

Picentiae legitimae neophitae die v kal· sept. consignatae a Liberia papa... To Picentia, legitimate neophyte who on sept. 27 th. was confirmed by Pope Liberius. Other expressions are found which would demand too lengthy commentaries (1.)

(1) See. my Notiones archaeol. christ. vol. II. l. I.

Eucharist and Penance. We ought to speak here of the sacraments of the Eucharist and Penance. There is no direct and explicit mention of the reception, a fortiori, of these two sacraments, and most likely the mystery which surrounded their administration gave ground for the shameful calumnies thrust at the Christians. Let us remark, in particular, that, before the Apology of St. Justin, we do not find anything to give us an idea of the eucharistic ceremonies.

There are some, who, from the silence of the epitaphs and from the obscurity of patristic texts, would wish to draw the conclusion, that the auricular confession came into existence later on, and who, in so doing, rest, upon the negative argument of tradition: Answering them, we shall say: if it was customary to confess one's sins publicly, even the most enormous and shameful sins, for a much greater reason were they confessed sacramentally, that is, secretly; sometimes the public confession was a consequence of the secret confession (1).

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(1) We are speaking to those who admit no authority except tradition and their own judgment; for, the man who has no aversion to this sacrament, and especially the man who is in the habit of receiving it with proper dispositions, knows very well, what a help for the moral uplifting and progress of the soul this sacrament is, viewed even from a human stand-point. It is grounded on the words of Jesus Christ (Matt. XVIII, 18, John X. 21. etc.), and sanctioned by the infallible authority of

There are nevertheless a few allusions to Penance: « Adiutor qui post acceptam poenitentiam migravit ad Dominum: Adjutor, who after receiving penance, went to the Lord ».

We shall speak of the Eucharist in the chapter on paintings.

Article III.

Art in the Catacombs.

Men have at all times been most careful to make, keep, and perfect what was most dear to them. To explain here the reasons of so evident a phenomenon, would be superfluous. Applying directly this principle to the Christian tombs, I will say that the first Christians considered it their sacred duty to decorate the tombs of their dear ones, and, when possible, to establish some relation between this decoration and the state of the deceased. It can hardly be understood that they had another end in view, unless they

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the Church; it produces in the conscience that peace and that joy, which are the fruit of the Divine word. Besides, taking into consideration the delicacy of the subject, it is well to remember, that the first Christians were little different from ourselves, in understanding the great necessity of safeguards for the administration of this sacrament; hence the cautions reference to it in public writings, and especially in the epigraphs.

be considered as men quite different from other men, devoid of the most natural sentiments, and

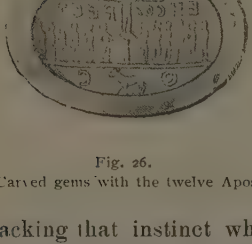

Fig. 26.

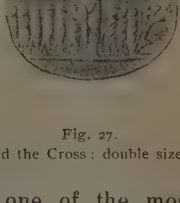

Fig. 27.

Carved gems with the twelve Apostles around the Cross: double size.

lacking that instinct which is one of the most powerful means of showing our affection towards the dead.

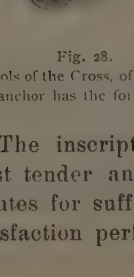

Fig. 28.

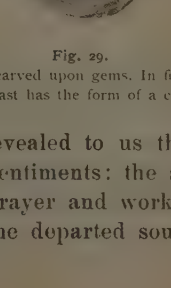

Fig. 29.

Symbols of the Cross, of souls and of Christ carved upon gems. In fig. 30, the anchor has the form of a boat; the mast has the form of a cross.

The inscriptions have revealed to us those most tender and spiritual sentiments: the substitutes for suffering were prayer and works of satisfaction performed for the departed soul.

Although Art does not seem to change in character, nevertheless it evidently points to the funeral; its inspiration is coloured by liturgical prayer for the dead.

These prayers embodying deep mysteries of religion and profound doctrinal thought were represented, in a vague and allegorical manner, in order not to reveal certain dogmatical notions to the uniniated nor expose them to scorn or profanation.

You understsand therefore why Christian Art in the first five centuries in the West ignores the Cross; why, in the East, it appears very seldom and only on objects for personal use, such as gems or rings; why, in all subterraneous Rome, only five inscriptions with crosses were found, belonging to the centuries of persecution; meantime this august sign was represented by the anchor, the Greek letter *tau*, and the trident.

The most profound mystery enshrouded the Eucharist: in the representation of this sacrament epigraphy is in happy accord with the paintings. Let us examine for a moment the different subjects forming the cycles of the funeral paintings; the following are their elements:

Fig 30. — « *In Christ* »

Christ. — The idea of the Saviour is represented by the figure of a fish; or by its Greek name ἰχθύς (fish).

or by the initals IX or XP intertwined in the monogram, ☧ that is, Ιησοῦς Χριστός « Jesus Christ », and ☧, that is, Χριστός « the Christ ». The letter in the X is not the English capital P but the Greek capital for the letter R: hence XP — ChR (istos), Christ.

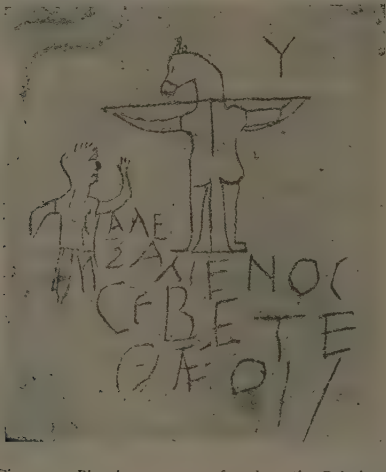

Fig. 31 — Blasphemous cross found on the Palatine.

How the acceptation of the fish as a symbol for Christ originated, has not as yet been made fully clear. There are some who trace it to the Sibylline canto, whose twenty-seven verses begin with as many letters, forming the acrostic: Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ: Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. This is the most laconic and ex-

plicit « *credo* » concerning Christ. Placing the initials of the five words, side by side, the word IXΘΥΣ is formed, which means *fish*.

This explanation would be irrefutable, if before the epoch of the Sibylline canto, other symbols of Christ in the form of a fish were not found. Some thought that it was simply an imitation of the true Sibylline canto, which imitation dates from the time of Antoninus Pious. If that is so,

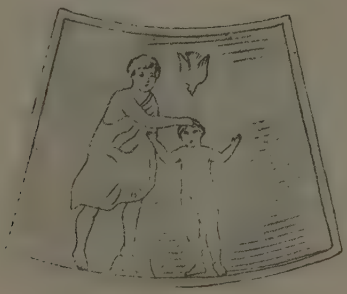

Fig. 32 — Cemetery of Ss. Peter and Marcellinus.

then it only remains to recognize in the Gospel itself the origin of this symbol, either in the narration of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, or in the repast of the seven disciples on the border of lake Tiberias, when they ate roasted fishes. However that may be, the monuments, as we shall soon show, leave no doubt concerning the meaning of the fish in catacombal Art.

Baptism. — As a prototype of this sacrament, the Baptism of Christ in the crypt of Lucina was

painted in the first half of the second century. The subject is treated historically, with the adult Christ. Later on, we find it again painted, with the infant Saviour, to indicate that spiritual infancy of which the liturgy speaks.

It is the same custom in plastic art; even until about the VI century, we do not meet with the picture of the adult Christ as being baptized by the Precursor.

The baptism of the catechumen appears in in the same manner in the catacombal art. The inscriptions of the IV century repeatedly show us examples of adults called infantes, infants, pueri, little children — because they are dead during their spiritual infancy, lasting at that time from Easter Sunday to Sunday « In Albis ».

There were yet other types of baptism: for instance:

1. Moses and the miraculous fountain in the desert; 2. The fisherman; 3. Noah s ark; 4. Perhaps the paralytic.

Moses striking the rock, represented the very source of grace coming from the stone, that is, from Christ: Petra autem erat Christus (14).

Thus the Christian artists sometimes put the name *Petrus* above the head of *Moses,* indicating the Moses of the new law, the first distri-

(11) TERTULL., De baptismo, cap. 9.
(12) Clement of Alexandria, Pandag, 3.
(13) TERTULL, de baptismo, cap. 8.
(14) I Chorinth.. X, 3.

butor of grace; the Fathers of the IV and V centuries have attributed, figuratively, to Peter the act of striking the mystical rock; and the identification of the two legislators in the Christian art was so perfect, that the iconographic type of Moses is that of Peter also (fig. 33).

Fig. 33 — MARUCCHI, *Man d'arch. chrét.*, p. 307.

On a dish of Podgoritz we read: « *Petrus percussit virga, fontes coeperunt currere* » — « *Peter struck with his rod, and the founts began to run* ». This legend represents precisely the mystical rock. Lastly, a glass in the British Museum presents a curious variation; it is a

chair (cathedra) having its back against a rock from which the sacred water is gushing.

Eucharist. — The spiritual life which began with baptism was kept up by a nourishment equally spiritual, viz, the body and blood of the Saviour, under the species of bread and wine.

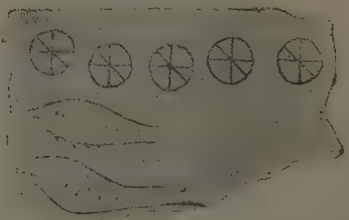

Fig. 34 — Comunion for the Greek inscription
Fig. 35 — Eucharistic symbols.

An inscription of the end of the II century shows us the secret sense of the banquet of the fish, so often found painted on the walls of the catacombs. Here are the text and translation :

«*Faith* then led me, and set before me as nourishment the F I S H from a single fountain, very large (the fish), very pure, that the chaste

Virgin held in her arms; that she gave to its (his) friends to eat everywhere, having excellent wine, giving it as a mixed drink (wine mixed with water) together with bread.

Let everyone who understands things, with one voice pray for me » (1).

The language is allegorical, as may be seen, and addressed to those capable of understanding, and whose prayers are requested.

Other Christians, speaking the same language, made use of ideograms. Tertullian had already said that the Christians were, « relatively to the fish Jesus Christ, as little fishes born from water » (2).

The learned Benedictine Dom (later Cardinal) Pitra, found an inscription at Autun which names the Christians « the divine race of the celestial fish » (3).

« O divine race of the celestial ICHTHUS (Fish), receive with a heart full of respect immortal life among mortals. Give youth to thy soul, my friend, in the divine waters by the eternal streams of Wisdon, giving true riches. Receive the delicious nourishment of the Saviour of the saints: eat, drink, having (holding) the ICHTHUS with both hands ».

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(1) Paul Allard, Rome souterr., l'art chrétien. p. 315.

(2) Tertull de baptismo, cap. 1.

(3) Lenormant. Mélanges d'archaeol. t. VI, p. 118.

This inscription may go back as far as the time of St. Irenaeus, since it reflects the ideas and style of the holy doctor; it conveys clearly the meaning of the « *fish* » which we notice often served to those sitting at the banquets as painted on the tombs of Christians; it explains also, with the text of Tertullian, why the faithful themselves were represented here and there under the figure of small fishes, às may been seen in fig. 34 and 35.

Here as in the paintings, we see the loaves towards which the fishes are swimming to eat; elsewhere the loaves alone are represented; then again, in the most ancient paintings, the cup is added: thus in the crypt of Lucina, these cups are represented as if they were of glass, permitting to see the reddish liquid within.

Besides, governing all these symbols, we find the idea of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. Often about these banquets of the divine ICHTHUS, we find baskets filled with fishes marked with a cross, sométimes seven and other times twelve in number: once, by error or for the sake of symmetry, there are eight. Here though, the idea of the miracle is not the salient one, but that of nourishment; the constant number seven reminds us that there is question of the mystical meaning of this number, and of an allusion to the repast on the border of lake Tiberias, where seven disciples after the mira-

culous catch of fishes, says St. John, ate broiled fish.

The meaning of such paintings cannot therefore be doubted. Origen had already spoken of the multiplication of the loaves as a well-known figure of the Eucharist, and as a thing so common that it needed no commentaries (1).

In the IV century this teaching becomes so general, that all the Fathers are witnesses to it.

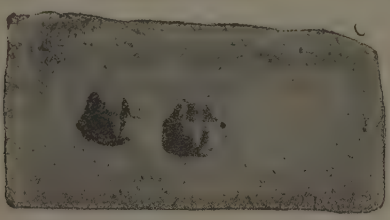

Fig. 36 — (WILPERT, *Breaking of bread.* fig. 19, p. 83).

The *miracle of Cana* was also to become the symbol of the Eucharist. In the III century, St. Cyprian commented in this sense upon the change of water into wine (2).

Some archeologists who seem never to have seen the catacombs, have tried to diminish the value of these interpretations. Their system has finally been discredited by the poverty of their negative arguments and by the unlikelihood of

(1) Origen., Comment. in Natth., I, X, par, 25.
(2) Cyprian., Ep., LXIII, 12.

their interpretations, especially by their errors concerning those general notions, which no one can be ignorant of, who wishes to speak of antique Cristian art (1).

The question might be asked, what relation these two sacraments exists have to the state of the departed. We answer : the same relation that between the words of Abercius, asking those who understand his symbolical language, for their prayers, and the state of Abercius. We find this kind of prayer in the most ancient liturgies : Our Lord was asked to receive into His peace the soul of the departed, because he or she had faith in the mysteries of Christ. We read the following in an ancient Roman liturgy of a man who died immediately after receiving the sacrament of baptism : O Lord, Who receivest into the heavenly

(1) See a summary of the refutations of this system in : Duchesne. Bullettin critique, 1897, p. 117.

W. Scultz, Theolog. Litteraturblstt, 1894, May IIth, and Culy 27 th ;

Wilpert, fractio panis, p. 95 and sqq ;

Marucchi, Ces catacombes et le protestantisme, Declée etc. ; My own articles, in the Ephemerides liturgicae, 1808. Febr., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1909 Ian numbers.

A propos of the meaning of the fish : as I was explaining one day to a group of savants, amateurs and professors the hidden sense of the paintings, one of those listening to me (he was a professor in a University) objected that fishes were found also in the paintings of Pompei and on the Egyptian obelisks. A near-by jester. a Neapolitan I think, answered him : « My dear professor, there are also fishes in the ocean ! »

kingdom only those who are born a second time of water and the Holy Ghost, have mercy upon the soul of Thy servant, and whereas Thou hast caused him to die without sin immediately after his baptism, grant unto him the plenitude of eternal life (1).

Generally, says Mgr. WILPERT, the departed, « those who had put on God by or in the waters of baptism » are thus designated in the most ancient chants (Qale) of the oriental Syriac Church, later Nestorian, as far back as the X century, and in the liturgical literature of all the Syriac churches (2).

In as far as the Eucharist is concerned, nothing could be more evident. Jesus Himself has established this symbol, saying in the gospel of St. John: « He who eateth MY Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up on the last day ». These words show clearly that the Eucharist is the pledge and price of the resurrection and everlasting life. The Church in her liturgy, gives us to understand this in a thousand ways: we read this very ancient prayer: « Look down with kindness, O Lord, upon all the faithful departed: forgive them their sins, pardon their faults, because in their members there is the flesh and blood of Thy Only Son (3).

(1) Muratori Liturg. Rom. vetus, I, 755, WILPERT, Le pitture delle catac, rom., p. 236 ss.

(2) WILPERT loc. cit p. 235.

(4) Renaudot, Liturg. orient., II, p. 450 ss.

However, we find this same sort of idea at the end of the inscription of Autun spoken of above, where Pectorius invites his friend who is serving him, to eat full and plenty of the divine FISH, and asks his parents and brothers not to forget him: « Be satiated then with the fish, Lord and Saviour, I wish it to you. I beseech Thee, O Light of the departed, grant a sweet repose to my mother, Ascandius, my father, so dear to my heart, with my mother and my brothers, in the peace of the Fish, remember Pectorius! »

The Last Things. — Next to the symbol of Baptism and the Eucharist, we have the symbols of the last things, i. e., the resurrection of Lazarus, the history of Jonas, sometimes both together; there is also the representation of the soul before Christ, as Judge.

Methinks, the poet Prudentius had before his eyes this series of symbolical subjects when, after describing in his Apotheosis the gathering-in by the disciples of the fragments of the loaves, when the people had been satiated (symbol of the Eucharist), all of a sudden thinks himself unworthy to sing these holy mysteries, and abruptly evokes Lazarus from his tomb:

SED QUID EGO HAEC AUTEM TITUBANTI VOCE RETEXO
INDIGNUS QUI SANCTA CANAM? PRODEDE SEPULCRO
LAZARE . . . . (1).

But wherefore shall I repeat these things with a trembling voice, that, unworthy as I am, I shall

(1) Vers. 736 ss).

sing sacred things? Come forth from tomb, O Lazarus.

This image of Lazarus is repeated often in the ancient funeral liturgies, and even now the Church chants in her office of the dead: Thou who hast raised Lazarus from his tomb, who al-

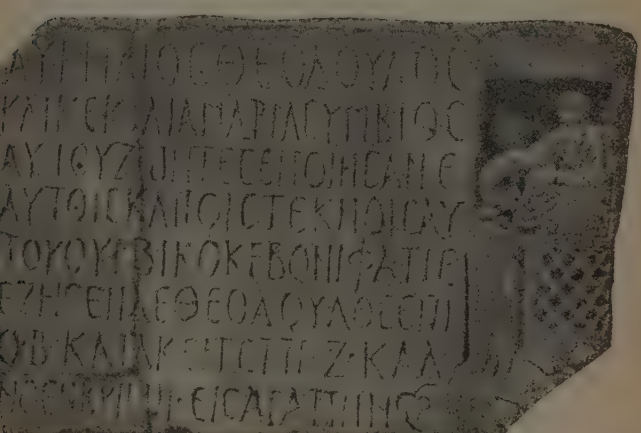

Fig. 37 — (WILPERT, *Le pitture delle Catac. rom.*)

ready gave forth odour, give rest to the departed and be indulgent towards them ».

The same observation refers to the history of Jonas, which is represented so often in the paintings of the catacombs and on the bas-reliefs of the tombs. Of deep signification is the form of that dragon given constantly to the marine mon-

ster swallowing the prophet. doubtless, to represent eternal death and the infernal dragon. God will know how to save the soul from the jaws of the dragon as he formerly saved Jonas. The harmony of this symbol with liturgy is perfect: besides the prayers falsely attributed to Cyprian but which belong to the III century, an *ordo* mentioned by *Martène*, (1) the Roman liturgy and other writings, and monuments, render the same testimony.

A slab of a tomb, mentioned by Garrucci and Perret, represents a dead person between a lion and a dragon and is certainly inspired by an ancient prayer in which they besought the Lord to protect the dead against the assault of these two personifications of the demon (1).

Judgment of the soul. — There is a series of paintings which were interpreted differently in former times: Mgr. Wilpert has explained them, as representing the particular judgment of the soul. The departed is presented by one or two saints before the eternal Judge, sitting on a cathedra, a chair, bench, and they plead the cause of the dead. (fig. 37).

(1) Martène De antiq. Eccl. ritibus, I, p. 899).

(1) Le blant, Sarcophages d'Arles, p. XXX, IV : « Non se opponat leo rugiens et draco devorans, miserorum animas rapere consuetus ». « Let not the roaring lion or the devouring dragon oppose him, used as they are to snatch the souls of the miserable ».

These paintings have some analogy with the obscene adorers of Jupiter Sabazios ; those syncretists borrowed some ideas from the Christians and mixed them in with their paganism. (See fig. 38 and 39, both types beside one another).

If anything could possibly destroy all doubts, it would certainly be a stone found during the last excavations in the cemetery of St. Calistus by the Reverend Trappist Fathers, under the effective direction of the Commission of Sacred Archeology (fig. 37).

The departed, Theodulos (servant of Iod) is before Christ the Judge, Our Lord sitting upon a tribunal, and giving him the reign of peace whilst He receives him amongst His sheep. Christ is indicated by the very name written above His head in the monogram ☧ and the name is the same as that of the inscription, engraved on the threshold of the tribunal. Could any one think of a scene more distinctly symbolic. The idea of Law seems expressed on the other side : there is a book or diptych open at the side of the person holding it ; next to the person is written : *Moses Prophet* The inscription ends with the acclamation, « ΕΙϹ ΑΓΑΠΗΝ » referring to the celestial feast or the heavenly happiness indicated by this name. We have this same formula in other epitaphs. (fig. 40) « Juste nomen tuum in Agapen. ; O Justus, may thy name be written in the heavenly banquet » .

The subject is very interestin,even for those

who do not share the faith or the hope of the first Christians. We shall treat it « ex professo » in the third book of my Notiones archaeologiae Christianae.

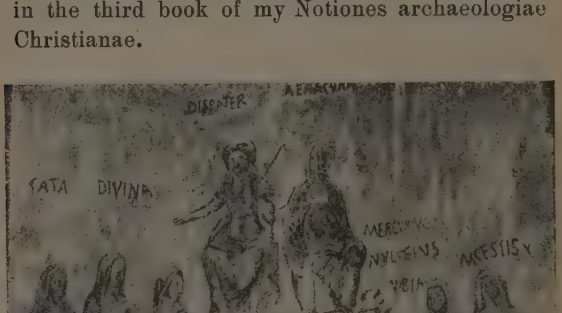

Fig. 38 — Syncretist painting, IV century, judgment of the soul

Among the symbols mentioned there are some which indicate the help of God in the midst of trials. These also are inspirations from prayers and especially from those which the priest recites, even nowadays, at the bedside of the dying. In the main, the dominant idea is one of divine Omnipotence, which will save the departed, from the clutches of the demon as it once saved Noah, Moses, Ionas, Suzanna, Daniel,

the three children, Lazarus, the paralytic, the woman with a bloody issue, etc. It is a prayer to Christ, beseeching Him to save the soul of the departed, and it is at the same time a profession of that faith which is a pledge of eter-

Fig. 39 — Christian painting, IV century, Judgment of the soul.

nal life, as the inscriptions tell us: « He, writes pope Damasus, Who walked upon the sea, Who gives life to the grain dying in the ground, Who could deliver Lazarus from the bonds of death, and Who after three days gave Martha her brother, will raise me up again, me also Damasus, because I believe ».

Here is another inscription to confirm what I have just said:

« In Christum credens praemia lucis habet:

Believing in Christ, he has received the reward of light. »

Other ideas are added to the foregoing. I shall not point them out here, but will expose them in the visits; I shall note here only those relating to the Virgin Mary and to the Good Shepherd.

The blessed Virgin. — The Virgin appears for the first time in the catacombs of St. Priscilla at the beginning of the II century (fig. 42). She is seated, bearing the infant Je-

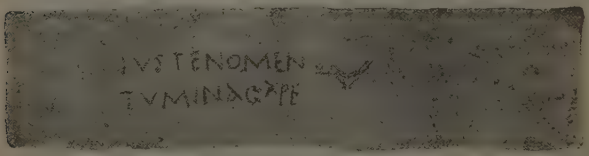

Fig. 40 — Museum of the Lateran: Iuste, nomen tuum in Agapan.

sus in her arms. The prophet Isaias is standing in front of her, pointing to the star. Without doubt, there is question of the famous prophecy, figured as well as realized (See page 1).

The painter represents to us the Incarnation, an article of faith, and reveals to us the meaning of the star seen in other monuments. It is the light foretold by Isaias, which we find so often expressed in epigraphic monuments. This light is Christ descended from heaven to enlighten all mankind; Christ is also the light of the departed, as we read in the numerous epitaphs

and monuments of the Orient and in the inscription of Autun. Now, the very name of « light » becomes the proper name for eternal beatitude.

An inscription found by Boldetti in the cemetery of St. Priscilla, speaking of a dead person, says that she was not deprived of immortal

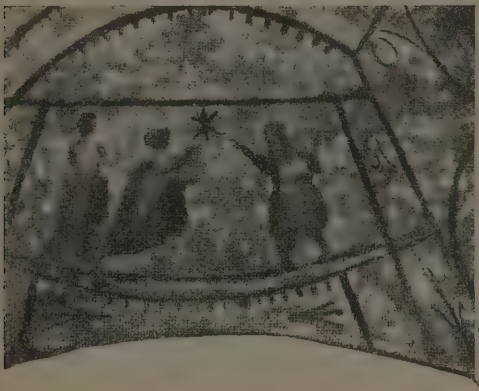

Fig. 41 — The Three Magi and the Star forming the monogram, Ἰησοὺς Χριστός.

light, because she had with her the immortal *Ichthus*. Ἰχθύς.

Hence these formulae: « The joys of light - heavenly light; the lighted places », meaning the happiness of paradise. Therefore the way to heaven was called *Via Lucis* - the way of the Light ».

The other images of the Virgin represent the

adoration of the Magi, that is, recognition of Christ, faith in His divinity. The fact that the Virgin is seated on a cathedra and in the first rank, is an argument in favour of the cult rendered to her. Assuredly, this cult could not be as explicit in those times as later on: the condition even of art, the necessity of concentra-

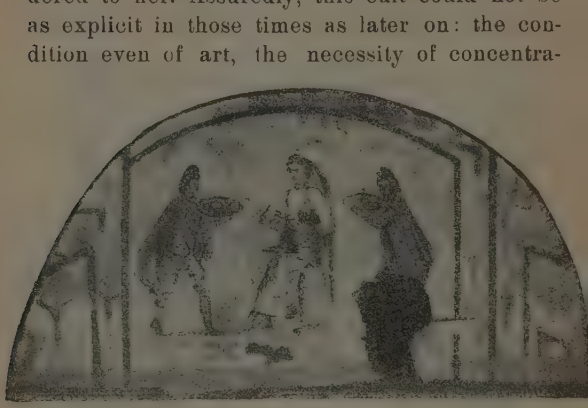

Fig. 42 — Epiphany or Manifestation.

ting the veneration of the faithful in the person of Christ, Whose divinity was so often attacked by the heretics, and the precarious situation of Church, did not allow this cult to develop rapidly.

But this condition is common with other dogmas: As to what pertains to certain sacraments and their distinctive characters, the documents of tradition reveal but little. The contrary would surprise us, taking account of the above-mentioned circumstances.

There is nevertheless a question which finds its solution in the numerous representations of the adoration of the Magi. Holy Writ speaks of three gifts but says naught about the number of the Magi. Mgr. Wilpert, my learned master, has observed that, for reasons of symmetry, that is, whenever the Virgin is seated,-for instance

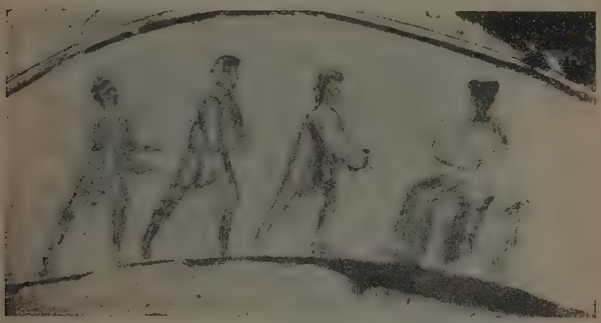

Fig. 43 — Epiphany or Manifestation.

in the middle of the lunette of the arcosolium, the Magi are either two or four at either side; whenever this symmetry is not needed, for instance in the sculptures, the Magi number always three. (See fig. 42 and 43).

The Good Shepherd. — The sweet figure of the Good Shepherd overshadows the whole Christian symbolism. In the first century the scenes of Daniel and Moses appear but once, showing the help of God in the midst of the most terrible trials; but the picture of the Good She-

pherd is found three times, as if to take possession of Christian art, and to furnish it with its first inspirations.

The Good Shepherd is found painted, sculptured, engraved in graffiti. This figure is multiplied in the III century, and in the IV its representations become innumerable.

Fig. 44 — The soul and the Good Shepherd. (Cem. of S. Callistus).

It is easy to understand the reason of the fact. Prayer was the great inspirer of this figure, as it was of all the others. Christ was besought to treat the departed as the *Good Shepherd* would treat a lost sheep; He was asked to take the soul and to carry it to paradise. Greek liturgy, more expressive in this matter than the Latin, puts this prayer upon the lips of the

departed: « y am the lost sheep; call me, O Lord, and save me! (1) ».

Prudentius, in describing the country where the Good Shepherd is carrying the sheep, speaks as if he were describing paradise.

But the Good Shepherd shows up also with the flock, and, as Mgr. Wilpert remarks, means something different in this case. The departed is then pointed out as belonging to the flock of Christ, and as a member of the Church, and under the protection of Christ Who gave His life for His sheep, need not fear. This idea refers more to the living than to the dead. At the beginning of the III century, in the vault of a chamber of the cemetery of St. Pretextatus, the Good Shepherd was represented with a stick, driving away from His sheep a hog and an ass, images of the infernal serpent.

Here we are at the end of our rapid glance at Christian symbolism. Other elements will be explained in the course of our visit. Now let us take a look at the place where was established the cemetery which we are going to describe.

(1) Ἁγιασματάριον τὸ μέγα p. 196.

Chapter III.

The Cemetery of Saint Callistus

Article I.

Grounds in which the cemetery of Saint Callistus was dug.

The cemetery of Saint Callistus covers all that space of ground which begins at the small church « *Quo Vadis* » (whither goest thou?) and extends to St. Sebastian's, bounded by the Appian and the Ardeatine high-ways and the way of the Seven Churches; which leaves the Appian high-way near the basilica of St. Sebastian, crosses the Ardeatine and continues towards the Ostian basilica.

The first part, sloping gently from the junction of the Appian and Ardeatine high-ways, measures about 450 feet, and is called Vigna Moroni, Moroni vineyard. The ruins of an edifice of three apsides are found there which seem to have been repaired several times. There are the remains of the basilica of Pope Mark, situated between the two above-named ways,

according to the Acts of Nicolas I — on the Ardeatine, according to the Martyrology of Adon — now along the Appian and now along the Ardeatine, according to the Liber Pontificalis. The Liber Pontificalis, says in the life of Pope Mark, that the pontiff obtained from Constantine Augustus a tract of land called « field of roses »

Fig. 45 — Chapel of St Sixtus with three apsides.

with its surroundings, which he turned into a cemetery (1). « Ex hujus suggestione obtulit Constantinus Augustus, quem cymiterium constituit via Ardeatina, fundum Rosarium cum

(1) « Ex hujus suggestione obtulit Constantinus Augustus basilicae, quem, cymiterium constituit via Ardeatina, fundum Rosarium cum omnes agrum campestrorum, prest. sol. XL » (Mommsen, Acta Pont. Rom., p. 73).

omnem agrum campetrorum, prest. sol. XL « (Mommsen, Acta Pont. Rom., p. 73) ».

To understand the reason for this name « field of roses », we must remember that it was customary for the Romans, at certain times of the year, to offer sacrifices and libations to their dead; they used for this purpose a quantity of flowers preferably and according to the season, of roses and violets (1). The field in question was then cultivated to decorate the tombs; the object of this cultivation was a religious one; but either by the extinction of the family, or by donation, sale, or confiscation, it could become the property of the State, and thus the Emperor was in a position to dispose of it as he wished.

From the « Vigna Moroni » one passes on to another called « Vigna Cardelli », extending to the monastery of the Reformed Cistercian Fathers, (the Trappists). Nothing positive is known about this vineyard, except that it reaches to, or perhaps occupies, a part of the ground called formerly « Campus Rediculi: field of the Returning God » — Festus Pompeius and other authors tell us that Hannibal, in consequence of frightful dreams, gave up the project of taking Rome by assault, and that he went to pillage the temple of the goddess Feronia at the foot of Mt Soractus; and then retired to Capua.

(1) My Notiones archaeolog. Christ., vol. I, pars I, pp. 325–328)

Upon the occasion of his departure the Romans built on the hill occupied by the Cartheginian general a sanctuary to god Rediculi, and the field was called « campus Rediculi ». On this very spot on which we see the monastery, the site of that field must be placed; at the time of Plinius, a strange but solemn procession formed to the right of the appian high-way, at the second milestone, and in the field of the god Rediculi the dead body of a crow was burnt on a majestic pyre; this crow saluted every day the children of the imperial family and the Roman people. Now, this second mile-stone was exactly at this point of the Appian high-way, and the vineyard was called for some time the « vigna del miglio: the vineyard of the mile-stone ». The historian Ampère wishes to identify the god Rediculi with the Sabine god Tuntanus (protector) of pelasgic origin, brought to Etruria, passed on to the Sabines, then handed over to the Romans; as Tutanus is the same as Mutinus (both names being of Sabine origin), none other than a different name for Priape, Rediculus would be, taken all in all, but a surname for this obscene divinity after the retreat of Hannibal. To tell the truth, the learned historian did not prove that Rediculus was identically the same as Tutanus. However that may be, we are forced to locate at this very place, at the second mile-stone, the field of Hannibal, and not, as certain people wish to point out today, in a position absolutely

unfavorable for an army intending to besiege a city, and to the left of the Appian high-way.

Next to the « Vigna Cardelli » comes the « Vigna Amendola », which extends to St. Sebastian's. In this vineyard, at about 1500 feet from the Church *Quo Vadis*, there used to be, towards the end of the second century, a villa with so many pools or piscinae, that it would rea-

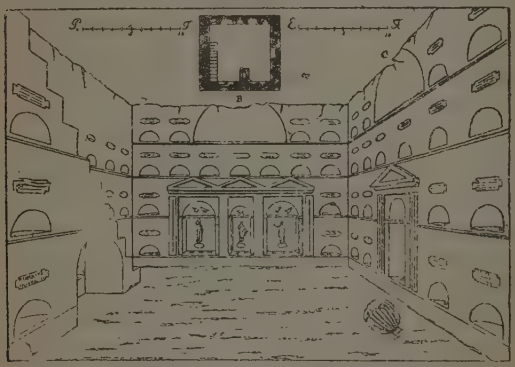

Fig. 46 — Columbarium of the franchised of the Gens Caecilia.

dily be taken for an establishment of public baths. The calidarium, rooms where the water was heated, and many conduits to fill the pools, were discovered there.

Towards St. Sebastian's a road started, paved with polygons of basaltic lava, partly visible as yet and has for some distance at least been mathematically traced owing to existing exca-

vations. Besides there is nothing more evident, because the ruins of several tombs have been found there along the way; which fact goes to prove also how frequented and important it was, although situated between two consular high-ways., the Ardeatine and the Appian.

That a true necropolis was in this place is proved by the fact that numerous ruins were found there, about a century ago, at the time of Fea. Besides, more than two hundred tombs along the Appian high-way, i. e., a columbarium of the soldiers of Cape Misenum (militum Misenatum) was discovered in the interior of the field; still another, columbarium, the owners of which called themselves « the adorers of god Sylvanus », an obscene divinity, to which the matrons could not offer sacrifice, because it was hostile to them, according to Juvenal (1)and St. Augustin (2) and a third one founded by the « chef cuisinier » (chief cook) of the family of the *Augustus Antoninus*, the dedicatory inscription of which stated that, if all the owners of the columbarium should die, this memorial, monument should become the property of the college of cooks established on the Palatine.

This road passed then through the midst of these collegiate tombs; but at a certain point, unless it slanted to the left, must needs have passed be-

(1) Satyr IX.

(2) De civit. Dei, lib. 6, cap. 9; lib. 15, cap. 23.

tween the hypogeum of the Caecilii and a small basilica with three apsides, built perhaps at the time of Pope St. Fabian (fig. 45).

De Rossi says that in this Basilica were deposited and venerated in a single tomb the bodies of Pope Zepherinus and of St. Tarcisius. The Basilica, rebuit more than once, had become a shed for agricultural implements, and a modern stairway was found there, leading to the catacombs transformed into a cave. The pontifical Commission of christian Archaeology and the Trappist Fathers have restored it to its present state.

It is hard to know whereto this road led, certain though it be that it met the Ardeatine Way again, and that it must have made various branches by which the pilgrims could go to the different sanctuaries. One of these branches was discovered in the beginning of 1909 ; it is in the direction of the tomb of St. Cornelius, and seems to pass very near the grave of the popes. That is all that may be said at present.

At the edge of the Appian high-way, notice also the columbarium of the franchised of the Caecilii, (fig 46) a burial tomb seen very near the entrance to the property (fig. 48 d.), and a majestic mausoleum in the form of truncated pyramid, the owners, of which were perhaps members of the noble family of the Pomponii, who, after having become Christians, either gave the surrounding ground to the Church, or allowed the faithful to be buried there. Fig 47 shows us the nu-

cleus of this still existing monument and the place where they went down to the tomb of St. Cornelius, just as it was in the first stages of the excavation made by De Rossi.

Further on, towards the Basilica of St. Seba-

Fig. 47.
Ruins of the mausoleum of the Pomponii, and stair-way leading to the tomb of pope Cornelius (as discovered by de Rossi).

stian, must have been the tomb of the Dəmusi; the testament of L. Dasumius Tuscus is very well known, which was found in this place in 1820 and 1836, engraved on a slab of marble broken into pieces and kept at present in the German Archaeological Institute. This family also counted many Christians amongst its members, and in a

beautiful tomb of the region of the Caecilii was found interred a certain Dasumia Cyriaca, surnamed on account of his innocence « gall-less dove » « guile-less dove » i. e. « without bitternes »

The road which now leads to the entrance to the catacombs is wholly modern ; so also the beautiful alley or walk bordered and shaded by cypresses, called Via Pio Nono, Pius the Ninth's Walk. This name was given it, because the great Pope passed there repeatedly, leaning on the arm of De Rossi ; it was then but a mere path ; » there said the Pope, there shall be one day the cemeteries of the popes. » The Trappist Fathers have realized this desire of Pius IX.

The alley is laid out in such a way, that at one extremity you may see rising betwen bushes the magnificent mausoleum of Caecilia Metella, and at the other, as inserted between two eucalyptus, the dome of Michael-Angelo, seemingly reaching heaven with its proud summit. Pagan Rome seems to form a contrast with Christian Rome. When shall we have the happiness to see under the shade of the cypresses the sweet figure of Pope *Pius X* ?

Article II.

Chronological order of the development of the cemetery of Saint Callistus.

It is within the hill just described that the papal cemetery was built. Towards the end of

the I century, or at the beginning of the II, under a grand mausoleum a small system of cemetery galleries was dug, having several cubiculi within the limits of a funeral area : this area was bounded by the surrounding monuments, the Appian high-way and the galleries which then had been in existence. (See fig 48. where this area is marked by a dotted line).

Under the first Antonines, a member of the Caecilii family, converted to Christianity, had a hypogeum (with an entrance by a stairway thereto), dug nearly at an equal distance between the Appian and the Ardeatine high-ways. The very monumental entrance of the stairway was decorated with pretty stucco. About the same time another parallel stairway was built ; in order to lengthen these two stairways, large galleries were dug, put in connection later on, at their extremities, by a third gallery (fig 49).

The transverse galleries uniting the parallel passages were dug somewhat later, as was also the region seen to the left and communicating with the arenarium X, X^2, X^3, etc To the right in chamber A, a passage opens which De Rossi called the second area of the cemetery, for he really believed it to be the second in chronological order (see fig. 50, passage a a a). In fact, it has all the characters of the end of the century and the beginning of the IV, as we shall explain in the visit ; on the contrary, the second area, (leaving aside the crypt of St. Lucina

and the regions which connect with the Callistan group), seems to begin at the big stairway and the adjoining story m m. The region which begins there and meets passage a a a finishes at

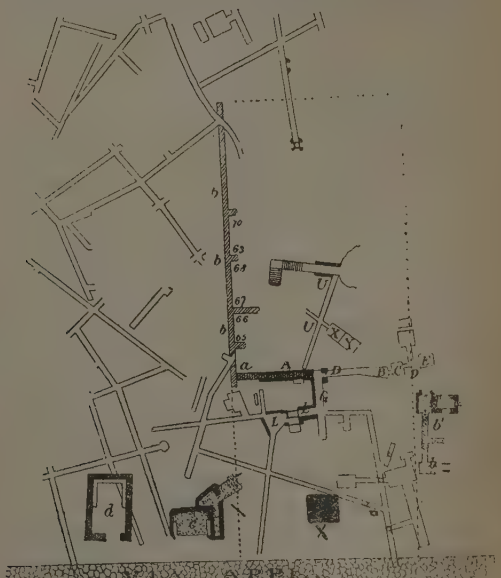

Fig. 48 — Plan of the crypts of S. Lucina.

chamber No. 1: on the other side, it continues with the walls, built perhaps at the time of St. Damasus. Its continuation may be seen in fig. 53 at the letters A, A, A, where the regions are

again counted, beginning with I and was called by De Rossi the region of St. Soteris ; we shall call it at present the anonymous region. It seems to originate entirely with the IV century

To the North of, fig. 51, we find the region called Liberian because it was improved especially under the pontifi-

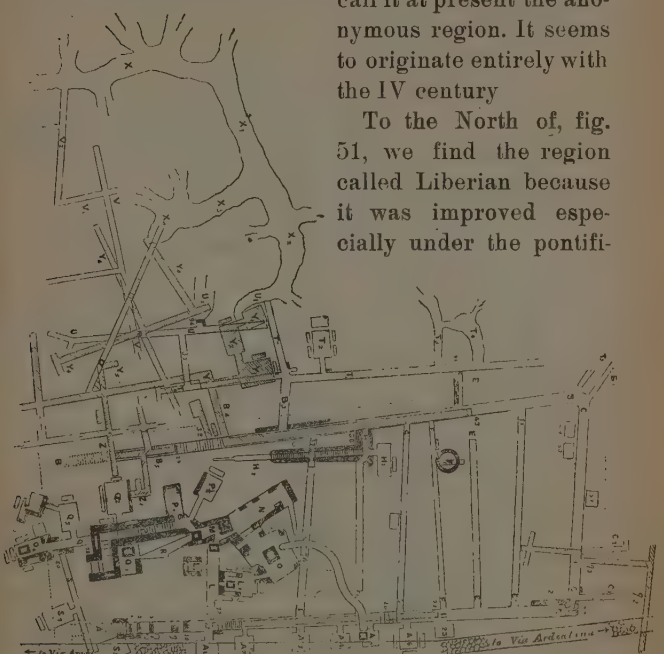

Fig. 49 — Region of the Caecilii, named region of the Popes.

cate of Liberius I, (352-366) Connected with this region there is another, seemingly a continuation thereof, and most justly called « the region af Saints Mark, Marcellianus and Damasus » ; it belongs entirely to the IV century with annexes of

the V. To the IV century belongs also the region extending from this point towards the *Quo*

Fig. 50 — The successive areae of the Cemetery of St. Callistus.

Vadis chapel, which must perhaps be divided into three parts:

a) to the right, the cemetery of St. Soteris, under the monastery of the Trappist Fathers;

b) to the left, the cemetery of Basileus, towards the Ardeatine hig-way:

Fig. 51 — Anonymous region (called by de Rossi, region of St. Soteris).

c) the cemetery of Ss. Mark and Balbina, towards the chapel of *Quo Vadis*.

In figure 54, the narrow and intricate galleries, not showing any chambers, run south-easterly and communicate with the St. Lucina crypt. This region, which De Rossi most properly calls the

« labyrinth » belongs certainly to the IV century

The Plan of the Cemetery, on sale at the convent of the Trappist Fathers, is the plan of De Rossi corrected and completed acoording to the

Fig. 52 — Labyrinth.

lateslt excavations: as it extends only to the monastery, it is but about half of the general plan. The missing part is not only very intricate but also very uncomfortable to go through, and at places even very dangerous. I have therefore renounced tracing this plan, just as Mr. Stephen De Rossi did.

Let us now study the cemetery.

Article III.
Visit of the Cemetery.

The ancient pilgrims of the VII and VIII centuries give us the different directions in visiting the cemetery of Callistus. There were various *Iteneraries* which then took the place of the our present Baedekers

Some, coming from the cemetery of St. Praetextatus, i. e. from the Appian hig-way, in face of the house called torretta, the little tower, went to the tomb of St. Cecilia; thence to the tombs of the Popes; then they reascended to venerate the bodies of Popes Zephirinus and of St. Tarcisius in the same tomb, redescended to the tomb of Pope St. Eusebius and finally they went to St. Cornelius in the crypt of Lucina. We shall almost entirely follow this itinerary. The other came from the gate of. St. Sebastian called also the Appian gate, porta Appia, and first visited St. Soteris, then the group of the Popes etc. Then they went towards the Appian hig-way and reached the Ostian hig-way. Others again by turning in a contrary direction, came from the Ostian hig-way to the Ardeatine and thence to the Appian. (See at the end of the article a table of Itineraries).

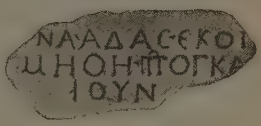

Fig. 55

The steps by which they descended are the same

INDEX (mutilated) of the cemeteries, from the Notitia Regionum Urbis Romae	INDEXES of the Oils, gathered by the Abbot John.	ITINERARY takem from the sole codex of Salzburg.
Cemetery of Praetextatus St. Januarius, Via Appia.	Linens of the vials Index of the Oils of St. Soteris, St. Sapientia, St. Spes, St. Fides, St. Charity, St. Caecilia, St. Tarsicius, St. Cornelius, and of many tousands of saints;	Thence you will come by the Appian high way to St. Sebastian the martyr, whose body rests in the lower part, and there are also the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in which they remained forty years. And in the wes stern section of the church, you descend the steps to a place where reposes St. Cyrinus, pope and martyr. By the same way, you go to the tombs of the holy martyrs Tiburtius and Valeriam and Maximus. There you will enter a large grotto and there («here is a marginal note») you will find St. Urban, bishop and confessor; and in another place, Felicissimus and Agapitus martyrs and deacons of Sixtus, and in the place Cyrinus martyr, and in the fourth place Januarius martyr.
Cemetery of Calistus St. Xystus, on the. Appian high-way.	St. Sebastian, St. Eutychius, St. Quirinus, St. Valerian, St. Tiburtius, St. Urbanus, St. Januarius.	In the third church on top, St. Synon martyr rests. By the same way you go to St. Caecilia's where an innumerable multitude of martyrs are... Sixtus the First, pope and martyr Dionesius, p. and m. Julirnus, p. and m., Flavianus, m., St. Cecilia, virgin and m., eighth martyrs there rest below. Geferinus p. and confessor rests on top. Eusebius p. and m. rests away back in the cave. S. Cornelius p. and m. rests far off in another cave. Then coming to St. Soteris, virgin and m., by the same way you come to a small chapel where St. Xystus was beheaded with his deacons; his body lies to the North.
Cemeteries of Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus, of St. Petronilla, (Ardeatine high-way) Balbina, Mark - Marcellianus, (Ardeatine hig-way).	St. Petronilla, daughter of St. Peter, St. Nereus, St. Damasus, St. Achilleus, St. Marcellianus.	
Basileus, Ardeatine hig-way).		You leave the Appian hig-way and will come to St. Mark, p. and m., then St. Damasus p. and there in another chapel you will find the two deacons and martyrs Mark and Marcellianus, germain brothers whose bodies repose on top under a large altar. Then you descend by steps to the martyrs Ss. Nereus and Achilleus.
Cemetery of Damasus.		

EPITOME
of the book of the places
of the Holy Martys
and from the Codexes
Salzburg (genuine).
Wuezburg (genuine).
Salzburg (interpolated).

K. Along the Appian highway, in the
astern part of the city is the church of
. Soteris where she lies with many mar-
rs, and along the same high-way is the
urch of St. Sixtus, pope; he sleeps the-
. There also reposes St. Caecilia, and
ere also St. Tarcisius and St. Geferinus
s in the tomb also St. Eusebius and St.
alocerus, and St. Partenius lie separa-
ly and (DCCC) eight hundred martyrs
the same place rest. K. not far from
ere in the cemetery of Calistus, Corne-
us aud Cyprianus rest in the church
nd in another grotto, St. Calocerus.
his was added by another hand.))
K. Along the same high-way is also
e church of a large number of mar-
rs, i. e; of Januarius, the oldest of the
ven sons of Felicitas, Urbanus, Aga-
tus, Felicissimus, Cyrinus, Zenon, the
rother of Valentinus, Tiburtius, Vale-
anus, (aud Maximus: this was added
another hand), and many other mar-
rs repose there. K. And along the sa-
e high-way is the church of St. Seba-
ian martyr, where he himself sleeps,
here are the tombs of the Apostles in
hich they rested (XL) forty years.
ere also Cyrinus martyr is buried.

K. Along the Ardeatine high-way is
church of St. Petronilla; there also
e buried Ss. Achilleus and Nereus and
tronilla herself. K. And along the sa-
high-way Damasus and his sister
rtha are buried. And in another ba-
ca not far of, Marcus and Marcel-
nus are honoured and still in another
urch another Marcus with Marcelli-
are held in honor.

Notice of the Gates
Ways and Churches aroun Roma,
from William of Malmesbury.

The eleventh gate and way s
called Appia. There rest Ss. ani
formely the bodies of the Apod
stles lay there. And a little near-
rer Rome are the martyrs Januar-
rius, Urbanus Xenon, Quirinus,-
Agapitus, Felicissimus. And in
another church Tihurtius, Vale-
rianus, Maximus; not far is the
church of St. Cecilia martyr where
too are buried Stephanus, Si-
xtus, Zefferinus, Eusebius, Mel-
chiades, Marcellus, Eutichianus,
Dionysius, Antheaos, Pontianus,
Lucius, pope, Optatus, Julianus,
Calocerus, Partenius, Tharsitius,
Policamus (al) Politanus). In the
same place are the chapel and
the body of St. Cornelius. And
in another chapel St. Soteris, and
not far repose the martyrs Hip-
polytus, Adrianus, Eusebius, Ma-
ria, Martha, Paulina, Valeria,
Marcellus; and nearby in his
own chapel pope Marcus.

Between the Appian and the
Ostian hig-ways is the Ardeatine
high way where are Marcus and
Marcellianus, and in his own
chapel lies Damasus. And not
far of are Ss. Petronilla, Nereus
and Achilleus and many others.

as nowadays; this gallery, says De Rossi, was changed into an entrance by Pope St. Damasus for the pilgrims of his time. It was restored at the time of Pope Pius IX. On the wall to the left was the beautiful inscription of a certain Claudia whose « birth-day rose... etc. » i. e. the day of her death which was her birth to true life, and was called dies natalis, birth-day, as we read in the Martyrology of the saints.

So the right an inscription is characterized by the verb κοιμάω « to sleep »: the departed fell asleep in the Lord the 30 th of May (fig. 53). Another inscription to the right gives the 4 th consulate of Diocletian and, what must be, the 3 rd of Maximian:

VIBIUS FIMUS R. VII KA SEP
DIC. IV. ET. MDX. COS

Vibius Fimus recessit or *reddidit* or *requiescit* or *requievit*. Vibivs retired, or fell asleep; or, he rendered (his soul); or he rests, or rested. Then, the name Fimus, (the least) as De Rossi remarks, is not a a Roman name, but one taken by humility. Thus other Christians, and sometimes the more noble, took names chosen from vile things, for example Stercorius, (Off-all), Projectus (Cast a-way) Projecticius (Good - nothing). or dishonorable names, as Dyscolus, (Distempered).

The stairway obstructs the entrance to a remarkable crypt where is the inscription: « Dasumia Cyriaca, dove without guile, bitternes,

gall ». At the foot of the stairway graffiti are immediately seen ; they were inscriptions traced by pilgrims who came to venerate this sanctuary. The way then leads to the right under a lucer-

Fig. 54 — Orpheus in the midst of sheep.

narium and to a very high gallery which is said to be the vestibule of the Popes Chapel. Close to the entrance is a family tomb, called the chamber of Orpheus, restored in the IV century, the ceiling being finely painted in narrow geometrical lines.

In the middle we see the figure of Orpheus seated, playing a lyre, and at his side are two lambs, representing doubtless animals attracted by his sweet music. It is Christ attracting man by the sweetness of His teachings (Fig. 54).

This is the most ancient representation of Orpheus in Christian art, and goes back to the beginning of the cemetery. There are two other representations of Orpheus in the cemetery of Domitilla; they belong to a later epoch, and give the historical type of the subject: here on the contrary, the Thracian poet is not surrounded by animals which he is taming at the sound of his lyre, but he holds the place which becomes the Good Shephered i-e, he has two lambs at his side, which fact makes the allusion the more evident.

On the left wall, before arriving at the door of the crypt of the Popes, there is a group of the Popés, there is a group of graffiti so confused, that it required 15 years or more of De Rossi to spell them out. Take note of the one made upon the layer still fresh and which is probably contemporaneous with the burial of Pope St. Pontianus, towards the middle of the III century. It says: « O Pontianus, live in God with all the pontiffs! » Other graffiti invoke repeatedly the pontiff Sixtus II; others beseech the martyrs to give them a happy voyage, just as those Christian merchants on the rock of a small island in the Aegean sea, engraved pious invocations to

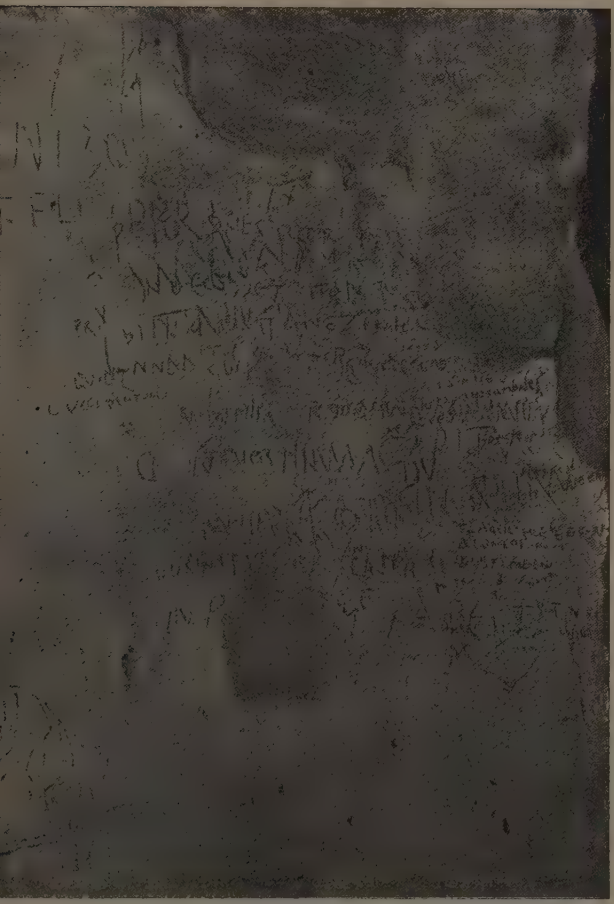

Fig. 55.
A group of graffiti near the entrance of the Crypt of the Popes.

*Adria*NVS BONIZO

...i VIV*as*

FELiCI PBR PECCATOR

POTΦINA

SANCTE XVC*te*

*M*AXIMI EN θεω METαΠANTων επισκοπων

*Pri*MITI PRO ΠONTIANE ZHCHC SANte *Suste in men* THE ABEAS IN ORATIONE ΤΕ ΕΙC MIAN

*pe*TE ROME EVSTA*chi*VM

PRIMITI NOMNANBC SANTE SVSTE IN MENTE

AMANTI HABEAS IN HORATIONES

NA NA AVRELIV REPENTINV

IERUSALE CIVITAS ET

ANA TATXA A PETE PRO MARCIANVM ALUMNV IIM

ORNAMENTVM

CARA MATER

MARTYRV D NABALTARIA

CVIVS .. BER TALLA

SANCTE SVSTE...

..REPENTI*num*

SVCCESSVM RVFINVM AGAPITVM E

SANCTE XYSTE

*in me*NTE HABEAS IN HO*ratione* SVSTE SAN*cte*

VT AELIBERA

SVCC... SVM RVFINVM AGAPITUM SA

CROCEO

RV FINVM ΓεΔΛCI ZH CεNε θεω

RV

CONTRI ΔIONΪCI ZHCεC

BYΛ... CIA

UT QUOD ITERAVI*mus* FACER BIBAC IN θεο

IN P*ace* ASTRA PETE TVXIC

ELIA

NTE BIBAC

E SATUR IN Δεο MARCIANUM

ARANTIAM AQ

ORTA MAX SVCCESSVM

TVA PETITE SPIRITA ANCTA

VT VERECVNDVS CVM SVIS SEVERVM SPIRITA

ARMEN BENE NAVIGET

(*Figure* SEBATIA SANCTA IN MENTE

PATωNI HAVETE ET OM

gravée) XIC AICXIONAC NES FRATRES NOS

AΔPIANOC TROS LEONTIVI*Bas*

Δεο AVIVS IN VITA

Graffites de la crypte des Papes

(V. gravure)

St. Phocas, to protect them during their voyage. One of those pilgrims touched at the sight of these famous tombs, wrote: « O Jerusalem, city and ornament of the martyrs of the Lord Whose... » He may not have been able to finish the sentence, probably being pushed forward by the crowd of pilgrims.

In reference to this group of graffiti and of others near-by, De Rossi remarks that they are not a cold and sterile formula of a souvenir, but an affectionate prayer: « Methinks that the graffiti of which we speak ought to be divided into three classes: the simple names qualifying the person; the acclamations of the same kind which we read on the epitaphs of the tombs and on the small titles of domestic utensils; the invocations addressed directly to the martyrs. In regard to the names which are placed, all of them, at the ordinary height and on the layers of the III and IV centuries, have a Roman character and etymology; they are not followed by any indication of the quality of the person; then the names which are engraved on the layers covered with paintings of the Byzantine style, or a few, pretty rare, written on top, above the ordinary height, when the walls were filled with the graffiti, show us names of Barbarian origin or of Christian custom, preceded often with a cross, nearly always followed by the *sigla*, meaning presbyter (priest) and sometimes the forms, peccator, (sinner) or indignus peccator, (unworthy sinner).

« The greetings in imitation of the formulae used on the ancient epitaphs or on household utensils are: VIVAS IN DEO *in pace*, and the like. Thus we read ICONI BIBAS; DONATE VIVAS,.; VICTORINE BIVAS... ; PONTI VIVAS IN DEO CRISTO; ΕΛΙΑ ΒΙΒΑC ΙΝ ΔΕΟ; ΓΕΛΑΣ ΖΗC ΕΝ ΘΕω ; ΔΙΟΝΥCΙ ΒΙΒΑC ΙΝ ΘΕω ; ELIANE VIVAS IN ETERNO; LEONTI VIB*as* IN VITA *aeterna*; AMATE IN PACE, FORTUNI TE IN PACE (deux fois); . . . IN P*ace* ASTRA PETE ».

These greetings are really of the same character as the epitaphs, but, the last excepted, seem to be addressed to the living. Let us listen to De Rossi. « The brevity and elegance of these formulae are peculiar to the epigraphic style of the first centuries. Of *vivas*, *vivas in Deo*, I have found at Rome no instance containing a certain date in the epitaphs of the time of peace; in household utensils the use of *vivas vivatis in Deo*, lasted till the end of the fourth and was gradually abandoned in the fifth century. In point of fact the greetings in the catacombs are without any exception confined to the third and fourth centuries; not even a trace of the like is found in the *graffiti* made at later date on Byzantine paintings.

What an exquisitely delicate thought was not that of the pilgrims, to remember at tombs of the martyrs those near and dear to them, still in the flesh, as if to make them participate, far away though they were, in the graces that were

to be obtained by the intercession of those whose tombs they were venerating! It was thus that a pilgrim of Piacenza wrote on the walls of the shrines of Cana in Galilee the names of his parents:

Parentum suorum nomina scripsit.

Now here is the other kind of graffiti, which as the epitaphs, are connected with liturgical prayers and inspired by them: « Sante Siste in mente habeas in horationes Aureliu repentinv; » this form, says De Rossi, helps us complete the following: Sate Syste in mente habeas.... Repentinum, and also the others of the same kind,

These repeated prayers are precious indications of the presence of martyrs' tombs, and never De Rossi was more certain of being near the chapel of the popes (before entering therein), than after reading these repeated prayers full of emotion, unfortuuately destroyed and mostly covered by the coating put on at the time of St. Damasus « Here, says the illustrious archaeologist, where with such great fervour St. Sixtus had been invoked by those who had yet seen intact the loculi, the sarcophagi, the monuments, and read the original epitaphs and the praises of Damasus, here the great martyr with certainty must needs have his tomb ». The monument of Sixtus, we know, was with these of many of his predecessors; amongst and near them, inter episcopos, amongst the bishops, Urban placed the celebrated martyr Cecilia, who, indeed, gave with

St. Sixtus a name to the group of monuments which we are exploring (1).

Let us remark especially the form : Marcianum Successum Severum Spirita Sancta in mente havete et omnes fratres nostros. O holy souls, remember Marcian, Successus, Severus and all our brethren ! » It has its counterpart in an epitaph at Rome and in one of Aquilea, the latter ending thus: Martyres sancti in mente avite Maria. It seems inspired by the words of St. Cyprian : Fratres et sorores... in mente habeatis in orationibus vestris » (2). Have our brothers and sisters in mind in your prayers.

The Chapel of the POPES.

Entrance to the Chapel of the popes is through a door which was, in the beginning, very narrow, but later on enlarged by Pope Damasus, who placed a decorated arch over it. The arch and the posts are covered with a stucco peculiar to the Damasan epoch ; in the middle of the arch is a monogram of Christ, also painted. At the entrance-wall, to the sides of the door, there were two columns, the mark on the left being still recognizable ; the lining of the construction which covers it, hides the ancient stucco, evident traces of which are to be seen at the left corner. The lateral walls are lined with a double tier

(1) Loco cit.
(2) Ep. LX.

Fig. 56 — The Crypt of the Popes, as restored by Michael Stephen de Rossi.

of tombs, in the midst of which there are two marble torso columns, set off with Corinthian

capitals; on these columns there must have been architraves from which lamps hung; during the service (liturgy), the curtain (velarium) was also

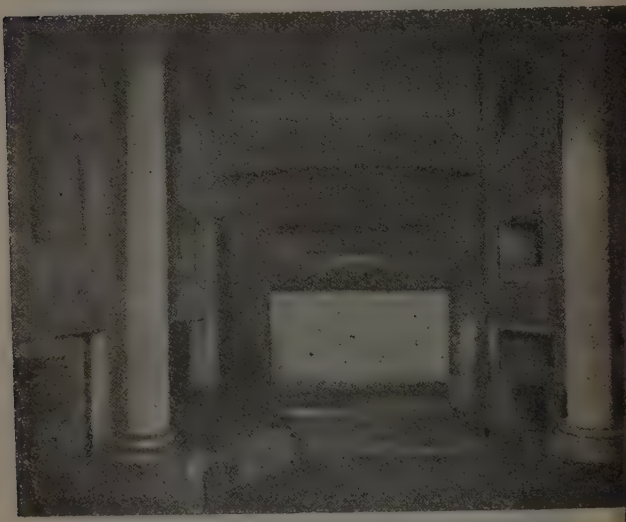

Fig. 57 — The crypt of the Popes; actual state.

hung, according to the ancient custom of isolating even physically the celebrant. A marble landing still shows traces of the ancient altar, behind which, leaning against the back-tomb, was the pontifical chair, (the catedra). The altar and the chair were surrounded by a balustrade, also of marble, with caisson and lattice or reticulated wire-work. (See the reconstruction, fig. 56).

In the beginning, though, the chapel was decorated only with white stucco and red lines: there may have been there symbolical and decorative subjects, of which no trace remains. The marble decoration belongs to the epoch of St. Damasus (366-384), or of Sixtus III (432-440) the same remark may be made about the lucernarium.

Not only the architectural elegant forms, but also the ancient badigeons, point to the antiquity

Fig. 58 — Inscription of pope Urban

of this crypt or chapel: they are the same as those decorating the primitive entrances and room A. The marble used here, the slabs and columns, etc., seem to have been placed already elsewhere, which would indicate the epoch of decoration, rather as the V. than the IV century.

De Rossi counted eleven popes buried here: Zephirinus (199-217) Urban I, (222-230), Pontian (230-235), Anterus (235-236), Fabian (236-250), Lucius (253-254), Stephen (254-257), Sixtus II (257-258), Dionysius (259-268), Felix I (269-274), and Eutychian (275-283).

Of their epitaphs only *five certain*, and *one uncertain*, have been found: those of Anterus Pontian, Fabian, Lucius and Eutychian. Those of Pontian and Fabian show also the *sigla* of the

martyrs, the entanglement of the consonants *MTR* of the word *Martyr*.

The lid of a marble casket shows the engraven name of OYPBANOC... « Urbanus »; De Rossi thought that it was followed by the beginning of the letter *E* (fig. 58), in which case it would be necessary to complete the inscription with the word Ἐπίσκοπος = bishop.

A valuable inscription, composed by St. Damasus, is at the bottom of the most honored tomb there, the tomb of St. Sixtus II (fig. 59). Here it is with translation:

Hic congesta jacet quaeris si turba piorum
If you enquire, here lies the crowd of faithful;
Corpora sanctorum retinent veneranda sepulcra
these venerable sepulchres contain the bodies of the saints,
Sublimes animas rapuit sibi regia coeli
the celestial court has taken to itself these sublimes souls;
Hic comites Xysti portant ex hoste trophaea,
Here the companions of Xystus who carry of the trophies from the enemy;
Hic numerus procerum servat qui altaria XPI,
Here, the number of noble servants of the altars of Christ;
Hic positus longa vixit qui in pace sacerdos,
Here lies the priest who lived in long peace;
Hic confessores sancti quos Graecia misit,
Here the saintly Confessors sent by Greece;

Hic juvenes puerique senes castique nepotes
Here the young people, the children, the old people and their chaste descendants;
Quis mage virgineum placit retinere pudorem;
(here) she who preferred to guard her purity of virgin;
Hic fateor Damasus solvi mea condere membra
Sed cineres timvi santos vexare piorum.
Here I Damasus declare to have thought of laying
my bones; but I feared to trouble the holy ashes of the saints.

Here we find given the companions of St. Sixtus II, who were killed with him — the number of noble princes, i. e. of the popes — a Pontiff who lived in peace a long time and who, according to De Rossi, Armellini, Marucchi, would be St. Miltiades, interred in this cemetery, as the Popes Cornelius, Caius and Eusebius, though in a different region. The great poet-pope recalls a number of persons of all ages and sexes, buried there, those who were jealous to keep their virginal chastity as a treasure; then he declares that he also desired to have a tomb in this place, but that he feared, by his presence to trouble the ashes of the saints. This slab of marble, when found, was in 125 pieces; the missing parts were replaced with sand-stone.

Another damasan inscription was put near the tomb of Sixtus II; the « *sylloge palatina*, the Palatine Collection » gives us the text, and in

the ruins of this chapel two fragments of original stone were found, on which it was engraved. The poetry is as follows, (with translation):

Tempore quo gladius secuit pia viscera matris
At the time when the sword pierced the pious heart of our mother
Hic positus Rector coelestia jussa docebam
Reposing here, I the Rector, taught the celestial laws.
Adveniunt subito rapiunt qui forte sedentem
They suddenly break in and seize, by chance. him seated;
Militibus missis populi tunc colla dedere
To the soldiers who had been sent, the people presented their necks
Mox ubi cognovit senior quis tollere vellet
Palmas se suumque caput prior obtulit ipse.
As soon as the older one saw who wished to gain the palm, he himself the first offered himself and his head,
Impatiens feritas posset ne laedere quemquam
that the impatient wildness could not hurt any one
Ostendit. Christus reddit qui praemia vitae
Christ showed it, who renders the rewards of life
Pastoris meritum numerum gregis Ipse tuetur
He Himself the reward of the shepherd who protects the number of the fold

During a long time, these verses were attributed to Sthephen I; but it has for the future been

provea, that Pope Stephen had only been buried in this crypt, whilst he was martyred on the Latin high-way together with several members of his clergy. The only pope who was beheaded in the cemetery was Sixtus II, and to him do these verses refer. In this very place, affixed to his tomb, some of his flesh, tainted with blood, was kept for a length of time.

On the opposite wall at the entrance-door, there was a slab bearing the names of the popes buried there: Pope Sixtus III had it put there: according to the conjectures of De Rossi, here is its tenor:

Names of the Bishops Martyrs and Confessors who are buried in the Cemetery of Callistus:

Xystus	Dionesius	Stephen	Urban
Cornelius	Felix	Lucius	Manno
Pontian	Eutychian.	Anterus	Numidian
Fabian	Gaius	Laudiceus	Julian
Eusebius	Miltiades	Polycarp	Optatus.

Of these the first is Saint Xystus, having suffered (martyrdom) with Agapitus, Felicissimus, and others to the number of eleven (XI).

This inscription, as also the verses *hic congesta* took in not only the crypt of the popes and the adjacent crypts, but also the whole Callistan necropolis.

Observations concerning the tombs of the popes.

Whereas this book is destined to help all those, savants or amateurs, who are studying Christian

Archaeology. I think that I am doing well by adding to the cursory description of the pontifical hypogeum some remarks about the burial of the Popes. I shall, at the same time, expose several controverted and less clear points.

In various manuscripts of the Liber Pontificalis (the Book of the pontiffs), we read that Pope Anicetus and others were buried in the cemetery of St. Callistus. Nevertheless these manuscripts date back only to the IX century, whereas the older *recensions* (v. g. that of 530 published by Schelstrate, and that of 687 published by Bianchini), place the burial of these two Pontiffs elsewhere: The Itineraries and the Martyrology of Jerome, do not speak of this fact.

ST. ZEPHERINUS, (199-217). — The pilgrims of the VIII century and the Liber Pontificalis affirm, that the body of St. Zepherinus was deposited, not in the cemetery of St. Callistus, but above in his own cemetery and next to the cemetery of Callistus: sursum in coemeterio suo juxta coemeterium Callisti: Other pilgrims say that he was honoured with St. Tarcisius in the same tomb: in eodem tumulo. De Rossi did not believe in the existence of a cemetery of St. Zepherinus, as distinct from that of St. Callistus, but supposed that St. Zepherinus had at first been deposited in the chapel of the Popes, and then, later on, taken from it, in order to be jointly, with the boby of that martyr of the Blessed Eucharist, deposited in basilica above ground, about

the V century. Now, on account of the tombs in or about, a basilica could be called a cemetery, and therefore, this sanctuary or tomb of the pontiff and of the acolyte martyr was called « the cemetery of St. Zepherinus. »

This very plausible explanation at the time of De Rossi is at present the subject of a heated debate between Mgr Wilpert and Professor Marucchi. Without wishing to solve this difficult problem, I shall expose, in time and place, the status of the question. The fact beyond all doubt remains, that Zepherinus, shortly after his elevation to the sovereign pontificate called St. Callistus to Rome. He was then placed at the head of the administration of the cemetery and of the government of the clergy, with the title of *first deacon*. It is equally certain that the decorations and certain remains of masonry in the Papal Crypt or Chapel belong to the epoch of Marcus Aurelius.

St. Callistus (217-222). — Of Pope Callistus we have nothing to remind us of his burial-place in the cemetery of which he was the administrator, on the contrary, the history of his martyrdom says that he was buried at the third milestone on the Aurelian way, in the « coemeterio Calepodii », in the cemetery of Calopodius : « For such a curious fact, some explication must be sought, it seems, in the confused indication which remains on the subject of the martyrdom and se-

pulture of this pontiff. In the Acts which give us an account (1) critics find very admissible the manner of Callistus' death (2). According to the Acts, Callistus was killed by being thrown out of a window into a Cistern of the Trastevere region, « beyond the Tiber », which would be due rather to a popular tumult than to a formal sentence of a magistrate, or of the Emperor. The body crushed under a pile of stones was taken from the well secretly and conveyed to the cemetery of Calepodius, on the Aurelian way, not far from the place were he had been killed in such a strange and illegal way » (3).

To tell the truth, it seemps impossible that Emperor Alexander Severus ordered the torment of the Christian pontiff, because we read : « Christianos esse passus est : He suffered the Christians to be », and that he gave back to the Christians the possession of a church in the « Trastevere. » This preference of the Emperor may have excited the anger of thousands against the chief of the Christians ; Callistus was beside from what we know from the book of the Pilosophumena, detested by the Jews ; they had him banished to the mines of Sardinia even before his promotion to the sacred orders. Then again the Jews, cousidered Alexander Severus as an

(1) Acta SS., t. VI. oct. p. 439.
(2) Cf. Tillemont, Hist. eccl., t. III.
(3) De Rossi, Roma sott., t. II, p. 51.

adept, and had been overwhelmed with privileges by him, so says Lamprid, and they thus expected impunity from him. These circumstances, though they do not decide exactly the question as to who the murderers of Callistus were, render probable the narrative of his death in a tumult, and every contrary conjecture would rather be fantastical.

SAINT URBAN (222-230). — St. Urban succeded Callistus, and was certainly buried on the Appian Way. The most ancient martyrologies indicate on this way the sepulture of a bishop Urban but in the cemetery of Praetextatus on the other side of the way and facing the cemetery of Callistus. Thus we read in the Martyrology of Jerome, under date of May 25th ; « (Natalis) Urbani episcopi in coemeterio Pretextati, the birthday of Urban bishop, in the cemetery of Praetextatus » ; and in the little Roman Martyrology : Urbani episcopi et martyris, Urban, bishop and martyr. »

The most ancient edition of the Liber Pontificalis gives us for the first time the name of Urban : « Qui et sepultus est cimiterio Praetextati (Epitome Feliciana) Urban who was also buried in the cemetery of Praetextatus. » The Abbot John enumerates the name of Urban with the group of the cemetery of Praetextatus ; although no topographical document gives this name in the cemetery of Callistus, the manuscript of Malmesbury names Urban between St. Januarius and St. Ze-

non; the « Epitome de locis sanctorum martyrum » (the places of the martyrs), names him with the group of the places of the martyrs), names him with the group Praetextatus; so also the manuscript of Salzburg, which calls him besides; « episcopum et confessorem, bishop and confessor. »

Everything points to a cult of an Urban in the cemetery of Praetextatus: alone the Bern manuscript of the Martyrology of Jerome, according to the correction of De Rossi, mentions the name of Urban in the cemetery of Callistus.

But an inscription of an Urban was discovered near the papal crypt, where it communicates with the chapel of St. Cecilia; it is written in Greek, and following the name there is a curved line perhaps for Episcopus, bishop. There is a great resemblance between this fragment and the papal epitaphs, without the possibility of comparing the paleography with the epitaph of St. Anterus, which is posterior. This may not be a serious difficulty. What is more difficult, is to complete the true word following. De Rossi read : Ἐπίσκοπος a bishop ; others read : Ἐν εἰρήνῃ in peace. Mgr Wilpert thought the curve to be of, a, the top of which would, go up too far; for De Rossi it was owing to a stroke of the pick.

De Rossi supposes the existence of two Urbans; one, a pope, buried in the cemetery of St. Praetextatus, both mixed by the author of the Liber Pontificalis. This is no place for the di-

scussion of such an intricate question; suffice it to have indicated the difficulty. The inscription is placed to the left, facing the altar, on the edge of the tomb next to the ground.

SAINT PONTIAN (220-234). - Pontian succeeded Urban, and the Martyrologies assert that he was buried in the cemetery of Callistus. The same information may be read in the Liber Pontificalis, which tells us besides, that under the consulate of Severus and Quintian (235) the pope was banished to Sardinia with the priest Hippolytus. The Liberian Catalogue adds to this information that the pope renounced the pontifical charge the same year, September 28th, and that the following November 21 st, Anterus was elected in his stead. The Liber Pontificalis also states that he was flogged and killed November 30th, probably the following year, (236); he was then still alive when Fabian was elected. He, in virtue of the law by which the bodies of the criminally executed could be claimed, and profiting of the kind dispositions of Emperor Philip the Arabian, went to Sardinia, in order to transfer with honour the body of the glorious martyr and to bury it in the cemetery of Callistus. Here are the texts relative to this pope:

Liber Pontificalis: « Eodem tempore Pontianus episcopus et Hippolytus presbyter exilio sunt deportati ab Alexandro in Sardinia insula (nociva) bucina, Severo Quintiano cons. In eadem insula afflictus, maceratus fustibus defunctus est

III kal. novemb. et in eius loco ordinatus est Antheros XI kal. dcemb... Quem beatus Fabianus adduxit navigio (cum clero per navem) et sepelivit in cymeterio Calixti via Appia » (1).

« Fuit « (Pontianus) temporibus Alexandri et cons. Pompeiani et Geliniani. Eo tempore Pontianus episcopus et Hippolytus presbiter exules sunt deportati in Sardinia, in insula vocina (nociva) Severo at Quintiano consulibus: in eadem insula discinctus est kal. III octobr. et loco ejus ordinatus est Antherus IX kal. dec. cons, SS. (suprascriptis) » (2).

The inscription of Pontian was re-discovered

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(1) Mommsen, Librt pont. pars I. p. 24. Translation; At the same time, Pontian bishop, and Hippolytus, priest were banished by Alexander, to the dangerous island of Sardinia, (perhaps, sonorus Sardinia) Severus and Quintianus being consuls. Pontian became afflicted in this same island, was tormented by being beaten with sticks died the third Calends of November, and in his place, Anteros was ordained the eleventh Calends of December... whom the blessed Fabian transferred by boat, and buried in the cemetery of Callistus, on the Appian Way ».

(2) Liberiam Catalog. at the name: Pontian was living at the time of Alexander, and the consuls Pompeianus and Gelinianus. At that time, Pontianus, bishop, and Hippolytus priest, were sent as exiles to the dangerous island of Sardinia, Severus and Quintianus being consuls. Pointian died on this same island the third of the Calends of October, and in his place Anterus was ordained, the ninth Calends of December, under the consulate of the above mentioned.

a month ago, in the excavations that Dom Dominic Sheercousse, Reformed Cistercian, Abbot of Our Lady of the Catacombs, had the happy idea to undertake in the very crypt of St. Cecilia. Here it is: ΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΟC ΕΠΙCK ΜΡΤ, « Pontian, bishop, martyr » (Fig. 60). I have as yet not obtained permission to reproduce the precious inscription, which I hope to add at the

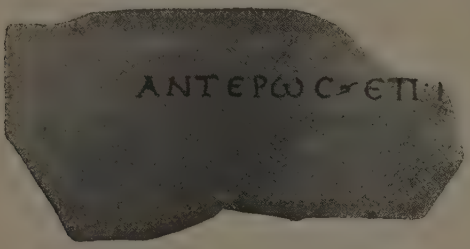

Fig. 61. — Inscription of Pope Anterus.

end of the volume. I shall soon speak of it. Besides among the graffiti of the vestibule of the crypt one may read: ΕΝ ΘΕω ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΝΤων ἐπισκόπων ΠΟΝΤΙΑΝΕ ΖΗΖΗC, « In God with all the bishops, O Pontian live thou! » This graffito, traced on plaster yet fresh, may go as far back as the III century and be contemporaneous with the burial of the pope, as De Rossi thinks.

SAINT ANTHERUS (235-236). — There is no trace of the burial of St. Antherus, the successor to Pontian, in the cemetery of St. Callistus; but is related in the most ancient edition

of the Liber Pontificalis, and repeated in all the others; besides it is indicated as ad S. Xystum, of St. Xystus; and S. Ceciliam, of S. Cecilia, by the topographical documents. (Manuscript of Malmesbury and Einsiedeln).

(Fig. 61). Anterus was pope for a little over 40 days, from Nov. 21, 235. to Jan 3, 236; he died during the short but furious persecution of Maximin and was succeded by Fabian. According to De Rossi and other eminent critics, these two pontiffs were elected, Pontian being yet alive; for, the last named perished as a result of the bastinado, (fustigatio), not in December 235, but a year later. The pontificate of twelve years assigned to Anterus by the more recent Martyrologies is an error of the Liber Pontificalis.

(114 The most evident document concerning the burial of this pope is his epitaph above that of Urban. The paleographic form and the distinctness of the characters (letters) of his name rather conform to the first half of the III century: it is therefore the most ancient known papal epitaph. Let us note also the true form of this name ANTEPωC (Ἀντέρως) and not Ἄντερως which would correspond to the Latin Anterus, erroneous form found only in the later documents.

It is impossible to know whether after the siglum EIII (ἐπίσκοπος), bishop. the indication of « martyrdom » was given. The title of « bishop » was the only one which, in those times, was proper to the Roman Pontiff, and the remark

of those who conclude from this indication that the bishop of Rome exercised, and had *no* authority during those centuries over the other dioceses, is really ridiculous. De Rossi remarks that the title of *Pape*, *Pope*, was a title of affection given to all the priests; only later on it was reserved exclusively to the pontiff of Rome. Had they wished to call him otherwise, they should have had recourse to the same classical titles of the Pagan sovereign pontiffs. Indeed

Fig. 62 — Inscription of Pope Fabian.

Tertullian, having become a heretic, in his book De Pudicitia, (On Chastity), ironically called Pope Callistus, Supreme Pontiff, Bishop of bishops: which shows that the Roman pontiff, claimed these titles for himself.

Saint Fabian (236-250). The burial of Pope Fabian in the cemetery of Callistus is attested by numerous testimonies. Setting aside the Martyrology of Jerome with its many gaps, all the editions of the Liber Pontificalis and all the other Martyrologies place him in the group of the Callistan cemetery. But the most eloquent testimony is the very epitaph of the pontiff martyr; for various reasons this epitaph is worthy of interest (Fig. 62.)

Let us remark that the letters are no less beautiful than the letters of the Anterus epitaph ; this is in harmony with the rule of epigraphy : viz, that the more ancient epitaphs are also the better executed. The same remark applies also to the three other papal epitaphs. There also we find the title of martyr, shown in the siglum or monogram union of the three letters MTR. We do not know anything about the martyrdom of this pontiff ; the Roman clergy and Saint Cyprian inform us that he disappeared during the persecution of Decius and was a victim of the persecution. S. Cyprian was his contemporary. But the siglum is not traced with the same caracters as the inscription, having heen, seemingly, added, a little later on ; which made De Rossi suppose at first that it was one of those falsifications, frequent at a later period. But, by a more careful study, the great archeologist took notice that this addition could be a result of the official decision of the successor of Fabian, Pope Cornelius : In fact, Decius forbade and prevented the election of the pontiff, who was proclaimed only a year and a half after the death of Fabian. Now, according to the then discipline, only by an official ratification of the martyrdom could a martyr, having been killed for his faith, be proclaimed such. This ratification was called vindicatio, vindication, certification, corresponding to our canonisation. The Martyr so declared was called « martyr vindicatus », whilst, most

likely, before this ratification and during the examination of his cause, he was called : martyr designatus, a designated martyr.

Of this we have ample irrefragable documents : for proof, the example of a matron who, according to the words of S. Optatus, was punished with ecclesiastical censures, because she was in the habit of kissing devoutly the relics of martyr non vindicatus, not ratified, before going to the sacred table : though relics of a martyr, still he was not yet ratified : etsi martyris, sed nondum vindicati (1).

It is understood therefore why the siglum of the martyrdom in the inscription of Fabian is of different characther from the inscription itself. The artisan must have been content with tracing it, as a graffito, to break the rather thin slab already in its place.

Great was the astonishment to see siglum of martyrdom of Pope Pontian to be the very same as that of Fabian ; consequently, both are the work of the same engraver : this would probably make us suppose that the « vindicatio » of the two pontiffs was made at the same time by another Pope.

SAINT LUCIUS (June 25 253 — March 5, 254). Cornelius, the successor to Fabian was interred in the crypt of St Lucina. Of this, we

(1) Optat. Mi lev., De schismate Donatistarum, lib, 1, 16.

shall speak later on in visiting this region. Lucius succeeded Cornelius and was Pope during nine months; some of the ancient documents say that he was buried in St. Callistus cemetery, others say, near St. Xystus: this formula generally indicates the papal crypt or chapel. The epitaph, (fig. 63) discovered in this place, confirms the preceding indications. Notice the elision of the O: ΛΟΥΚΙC = ΛΟΥΚΙΟC.

Fig. 63. — Inscription of Pope Lucius I.

Some wished to see in this, an idiotism already established in the II or III centuries; an archaic formula handed down from the Etruscans, or from the ancient Italian dialects. This is a problem for philologists to solve!

SAINT STEPHEN (May 12 254 — Aug. 2 257). The history and martyrdom of Stephen I, says De Rossi, are a pure thicket of thorny and inextricable controversies. The Acts of his martyrdom recall, that he courageously suffered death on his chair of bishop and that he was buried there: « In eadem cripta, in loco qui appellatur hodie coemeterium Callisti ». This all would be clear, but for other contradictory documents: they say that St. Stephen was killed otherwise and elsewhere; for, in the ruins of

the Papal Crypt or Chapel, which the author of the Acts confounded with the Lucina Crypt, fragments of poetry of Pope Damasus, already cited, were found, narrating the arrest and the murder of the Pope in this cemetery at the time of the schism of Novatian:

« Tempore quo gladius secvit pia viscera Matris
Hic positus Rector coelestia iussa docebam ».
« At the time when the sword pierced the tender heart of the Mother (Church), I, here buried, the Ruler, was teaching the laws of heaven ».

The Acts are not in error when they recall the martyrdom of a Pope in this souvenir to Pope Stephen instead of to Sixtus I, his successor.

Many documents indicate the « dies natalis » of St. Stephen on the Latin way, where there certainly was a souvenir of him; nevertheless the most ancient, as the Leonine Sacramentary, the Martyrology of Jerome and the Philocalian Index, give in clear terms the feast of St. Stephen in the cemetery of St. Callistus. But how explain this divergence of posterior documents? Most probably by the confusion of the topography of the sanctuaries.

St. Stephen, according to all probabilty, was killed on the Latin Way, so that there was a memorial in his honour on this Way. He suffered martyrdom with certain of his clergy, who, however were not interred as the pontiff, in the cemetery of St. Callistus. For this reason, whilst commemorating the clergy, they necessarily

mentioned the pope, just as the liturgy connected the names of St. Cyprian and St. Cornelius; so that, the pilgrims of the VIII century thought they saw the tomb of the pope and that of the face of the bishop of Carthage, whose figure was painted to the left of the face of St. Cornelius. Besides the Liber Pontificalis, in one of its editions, clearly excludes the martyrdom of St. Stephen from the cemetery of St. Callistus-Here is what we read: « Suis temporibus est deportatus postea nutu dei reversus est ad eclesiam incolumis. Et post XXXIV dies tentus a Maximiano missus est in carcerem cum novem presbyteris et II episcopis Honorium et Castum et III diac. Xystum, Dionisium, et Gaium, Ibidem in carcerem ad arcum stellae fecit synodum et vasa omnia ecclesiae archidiacono suo Xysto in potestatem dedit vel arcam pecuniae post dies IV exiens sub custodia ipse capite truncatus est ». « Which means; In his time he was exiled, and then by the will of God, he returned safe to the Church. Having been retained thirty-four days, he was sent to prison by Maximian with nine priests, two bishops, Honorius and Castus, and three deacons Xystus, Dionysius and Gaius. In this very prison under the arch of the star, he held a synod and confided to Archdeacon Xystus, all the vessels of the church and a trunk of money. After four days he went out under a guard, and was beheaded. ».

As may bee seen, it is principally owing to

this fact, that the memorial of Saint Stephen must be assigned outside the cemetery of Callistus; but there is something still more. In the life of Leo IV there is mention of the basilica of St. Stephen on the Latin Way at the 3 mile stone; but, in reality at the 3 mile-stone there was the basilica of St. Stephen, protomartyr. The canonist Bonzoni (XI century), gives as place of the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the cemetery of St. Sebastian. Now, at this epoch, the topography had already been confounded and neither the cemetery of St. Callistus nor St. Praetextatus, was distinguished from the cemetery of St. Sebastian Now all this explains to us, how this confusion took place between the information given us by the various documents. We shall see that not St. Stephen, but St. Sixtus II was martyred in the cemetery of Callistus.

SAINT SIXTUS II — (257-258). What we may not read of St. Stephen I in the oldest documents, we find applicable to St. Sixtus II; I speak of the pontiff in the cemetery of Callistus and of the extraordinary fame of this martyrdom in this section.

We have seen with what arnestness the pilgrims scratched the prayers and pious invocations in passing before the tomb of the Popes; we find the motive given there, why the cemetery was so often designated by the term of: ad Xystum, near Xystus.

If, on the contrary, Pope Stephen had undergone

the fate which later documents attributed to him, then without any doubt, « his » and not « his successors' » name should have been found on the walls of the Papal Crypt. If the bloody chair was seen by the pilgrims near the tomb of the Pontiff Martyr, that chair must have had some relation to the tomb of Sixtus II behind the altar, as may be seen in the reconstruction by de Rossi (fig. 56).

But there is a synchronous text which certifies this in his LXXXII letter. St. Cyprian the bishop of Carthage, makes known to Successus, the death of Sixtus II officially announced to him by the Roman clergy : « Xystum autem in coemeterium animadversarium sociatis octave iduum augustarum die et cum eodem Quartum ». May you know that Xystus, martyred, has been buried in the cemetery, the 8th Ides of Aug., and with him Quartus.

Critics have shown that the end of the text should read : « et cum eo d. IIII, et cum eo diaconos quatuor ; » for the most ancient manuscripts have these words ! This information corresponds perfectly with other documents. In fact, of six deacons who, upon this occasion had been killed with the pontiff, *four* were interred in the cemetery of St. Callistus, and only *two*, Felicissimus and Agapetus, in that of St. Praetextatus... The Damasan poetry in the Papal Crypt reads :

« Hic comites Xisti portant qvi ex hoste tropaea, »

« Here lie the companions of Xystus, who bear away the trophies from the enemy ».

Then also the pilgrims visited on the Appian Way the « oratorium ubi decollatus est Xystus ». « the oratory where Xystus was beheaded ». Hence, that other Damasan poetry recalling the pontiff taken by surprise in the cemetery, violently taken from his chair, can have nothing to do with Sixtus II.

This fact in itself may be clear to all; but not so the circumstances of the martyrdom. Some of the pilgrims visited the « ecclesiam parvam ubi decollatus est S. Xystus », « the little church where St. Xystus was beheaded », to the right of the Appian Way, near the church of St. Soteres; others thought they had seen this church to the left of the same Way. De Rossi remarked that the former information was added in the margin, and that in the cemetery of Praetextatus, besides the « ecclesia ubi decollatus est Xystus » of the topography of Einsiedeln, there was also an image of Sixtus II facing the Apostles Peter and Paul, and that on a near-by « loculus », a graffitto bears the figure of two persons, one sitting on a chair, and the other, standing and unfolding a roll. Lastly, a graffito shows the print or mark of another chair.

Therefore De Rossi concludes, since there is question here of a reminder of the chair of

St. Sixtus, that it is not in the cemetery of St. Callistus but in that of St. Praetextatus that this Pope was taken by surprise, killed and thence transferred to the papal hypogeum, together with four of his deacons who were killed with him.

This is not the place to refute this opinion: but I shall point out the weak points of these arguments:

1. The deacons Felicissimus and Agapetus may have been killed with St. Sixtus in the cemetery of St. Callistus and thence transferred to the cemetery of St. Praetextatus which is on the other side of the Way, the entrance to which could have been at the same distance from the place of martyrdom as the entrance to the cemetery of Callistus. II. On the contrary, if the pope had been killed in the cemetery of Praetextatus, it is not understood, why the bodies of the four deacons should have been carried to the cemetery of Callistus with the body of the Pope.

2. The image of Sixtus in the cemetery of Praetextatus does not prove anything; for the images of St. Cyprian and of St. Optatus who are buried in Africa, are found in the crypt of Lucina, and in the chapel of St. Caecilia; those of St. Quirinus and of St. Sebastian, buried in the cemetery « ad Catacumbas »,

3. So also the names mentioned in graffiti on the slab of a loculus, (grave), would not prove anything, supposing even, says De Rossi, they

represented St. Sixtus II and one of his deacons. We find, besides, similar scenes in the paintings of the IV century, and very frequently they represent the soul before Christ as Judge.

4.º Now remains the information of the manuscript of Einsiedeln. But, first of all, there are numerous topographical errors in this manuscript: then the manuscript of Salzburg locates the martyrdom of Sixtus II near the church or the cemetery of St. Soteres. De Rossi observed that it is a marginal addition; at any rate, it is ancient. The one objection offered by the topography of Einsiedeln cannot counterbalance the synchronous testimony of St. Cyprian: « May you know that Sixtus was killed in the cemetery with four deacons », i. e., in the cemetery of the Church, in the « cemetery » by antonomasia, in the cemetery of Callistus. De Rossi comments on the following verses of Damasan poetry in honour of Felicissimus and Agapatus:

« Hic crucis invictae comites pariterque ministri Pastoris sancti meritumque fidemque secuti: »

Here (lie) the companions of the unconquered cross and at the same time ministers, who acquired the reward of faith in the Holy Pastor ». and he admits that the two deacons may have been killed separately although on the same day and for the same cause.

Then also the Damansan poetry in the Papal hypogeum which, in this matter, would require

a long discussion. I shall content myself with pointing out that there is question here of a fact that happened in this very place; and that interpreters, living before the discovery of the fragments, (according to which the poetry should have been placed in the Papal hypogeum), were also inclined to place the arrest of the Pope in the same locality as this inscription does. Indeed, the arrest is described as a local event and it is difficult, that in the sentence:

« Hic positus Rector coelestia jussa docebam, » I, the ruler, buried here, was teaching the laws of heaven, »

the word *hic*, *here*, should refer only to the chair, which could be brought from elsewhere; the remainder of the action, the arrival of the soldiers seizing the pope sitting, cannot be understood, if it is transferred to a locality different from the place where the poetry is. (1)

ST. DIONYSIUS. – (259-268). No monument has been discovered, recalling the memory of Pope Dionysius, the successor of St. Sixtus II. But the *Itineraries* and the *Notitia portarum*

(1) This book was already in press, when I had the idea of asking Mgr. Wilpert for his advice about the martyrdom of Sixtus II. The illustrious archaeologist told me, that after an especial study of the subject, he came to the same conclusion. Besides, the regretted late Profesor Armellini defends in his writings without entering into details, « that Sixtus II had been beheaded in a chapel above the cemetery of St. Callistus. »

mention him between Anteros and Eutychian, and the *Liber Pontificalis* says, when it makes use of the ordinary formula, « that he was buried in the cemetery of Callistus. » Emperor Gallian gave back to this pope the cemeteries confiscated by Emperor Valerian; the Liber Pontificalis assures us, that this pope proposed priests to the churches and established cemeteries and parishes in his diocese; « Hic presbiteris ecclesiae dedit et cymeteria et paroecias diocesis constituit »; this may not be taken literally, but must be understood as indicating the reorganisation of the clergy, and the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical order and offices troubled during the persecution of Valerian.

SAINT FELIX (269 274). — In reference to St. Felix I, documents show an almost irreconcilable difference. It would seem that Felix I, pope, was confounded with Felix II, anti-pope. Whereas the *Philocalian Index* mentions his burial in the cemetery of St. Callistus and the Liber Pontificalis, on the Aurelian Way. Mr. Tillemont thought he had solved the problem by admitting a removal; and Mr. Paoli, not being able to destroy the high value of the ecclesiastical Calender, supposed, as against all the other texts, that the cemetery of St. Callistus was on the Aurelian Way. But now-a-days the authority of the Philocalian Index is incontestable, whilst criticism has proved with what precautions the information of the Liber Ponti-

ficalis must be used, on account of its inexactitudes, even of its errors and suppositions.

Nothing more useful than this book, and nothing, very often, more deceptive as far as documents are concerned. Besides the « depositio episcoporum, » the burial of the bishops, of the « Philocalian Index » the name of Felix is found in the chronological series of the popes buried in the cemetery of St. Callistus, in the various hieronymian manuscripts, and in the authoritative sylloges of Klosterneuburg and of Goettwei. In respect to the Itineraries, it is probable that the memory of two Felixes was venerated really in the VII century on the Aurelian Way; or, perhaps, Felix I did establish a cemetery there.

SAINT EUTYCHIAN (275-283). Nearly all the ancient documents of the church attest the burial of Eutychius in the cemetery of Calistus: they differ only as regards the date of deposition.

The Commander De Rossi supposes that this difference is due to removals; for he could not conceive that by lies, caprice or error, anyone could take occasion from certain transfers to substitute a different date. As a general rule they are not to be accepted easily. An error of date is very easily committed in a manuscript, and there is no unlikelihood that this error will be repeated in the other manuscripts made from it. It does not seem that Eutychian

was a martyr. In reference to his inscription, De Rossi says: « The paleography and the character of the epitaph are exactly similar to those of the three epitaphs which I have examined, of Anteros, of Fabian and of Lucius, rich in indications from the fact, that they are synchronous with the sepulture, and the title is sepulchral, not historical. The marble slab is thin, oblong,

Fig. 64. — Inscription of Pope Eutychian.

destined to close the niche of the burial loculus: the engraving of the letters is made by a hand other than those which engraved the three preceding epitahs: nevertheless its paleography differs from theirs, only in the negligence of the writing which systematically drops the symmetry of the measures and of the lines of each letter This decadence in the epigraphic art agrees with the epigraphy of Eutychian, thirty years later that of Lucius, under Emperors Carus and Carinus, where this same negligence begins to show itself in the epigraphs of public works », (Note 44, Roma sotter., t. II, p. 72).

De Rossi thought that the body of Pope Cajus was transferred, during the persecution of Diocletian, to the Papal Crypt, as to a safer place. It may be so, but there seems not to be a sufficiemt reason for such a transfer in the confiscation of the cemetery of Callistus; besides, my friend George Schneider, has proven by very strong, if not irrefutable reasons, the improbability of such a transfer (Note 45 Cfr. Bullettino di Archeol. Crist., 1907).

The two following Popes were buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, perhaps on account of the persecution of Callistus. There is a memorial of Pope Marcellinus in an inscripition in this cemetery, to be spoken of hereafter. The Popes Eusebius and Miltiader were also buried in the cemetery of Callistus, but in different places.

Before we pass on to the Chapel of St. Cecilia, let us remark two things: first, that the most honoured tomb behind the altar, shows in front some brick-work of the time of the first Antonius; and, that the interior of the tomb supposes an alteration of the primitive decoration, thus indicating two different sepultures. The De Rossi believe that, since the hypogeum of the Christian Caecilii was here, (in the hypothesis of the martyrdom of St. Cecilia under Marcus Aurelius (161-180), the Saint was at first buried here, then transferred to the next crypt, to make room for the Popes.

This explanation having the very great me-

rit of avoiding many difficulties is founded on some weighty arguments; but I shall not tarry in exposing and discussing them; for I do wish to decide the vexed question concerning the date of the martyrdom of this Saint. (Note 46, Cfr. on this subject, my refutation of the opinion of Kellner in the « Ephemerides liturgicae » 1907, Desclee, Rome), Secondly, that other persons besides the Popes were buried in this crypt, amongst them a little child, whose sarcophagus may be seen near the right column.

Now let us enter the crypt of chamber of St. Cecilia.

The crypt of Saint Cecilia.

In the left corner of the Papal hypogeum a small gallery leads to the crypt of St. Cecilia. The history of this noble Roman young lady is known. and it needs no repetition, Having been martyred in the house of her spouse, her remains were brought here, placed in a cypress coffin, which was enclosed in a marble sarcophagus, and deposited in a large niche, still to be seen on the left of the entrance. In the IX century the place of this tomb was unknown, on account of the havoc wrought by the Lombards of Astolphus. The body of the virgin was recovered A. D. 821 and transferred to a Basilica bearing her name beyond the Tiber and which had been constructed over her house where she suffered martyrdom. In the XVI and XVII centu-

ries her incorrupt body was used as a model for the beautiful statue by the celebrated Milanes Stefano Maderna, of which there is a facsimile in plaster in the niche of the crypt. Cardinal Sfondrati assured the archaeologist Bosio that he felt under the garments of the Saint a rough hair shirt still adhering rigidly to her sacred members. Beside her tomb there was a recess in which a lamp was burning, furnished with precious oils, and close by was most probably her altar. The wall where her tomb is, was entirely lined in the IVth and Vth Centuries with mosaics, marble veneering and enamel sheets. But despoiled by time and still more by the barbarians, it was replastered at different times and covered with Byzantine frescoes. From the frieze to the beginning of the vault in which there is a lucernarium, the paintings are of the VIth century, and a young Orant is represented there, as seen, in the midst of flowers, dressed as a Byzantine Empress with nimbus. No doubt it is the image of St. Cecilia in paradise. Flowers, gardens, a tree even, signified in Christian symbolism the home of peace, eternal beatitude.

At the bottom and to the side of this painting there are graffit giving a great number of names, now isolated, now grouped, of which nearly all are of priests and are preceded by a cross. Benedictus prob. Sergius prb.. etc. One of these names in particular attracted the atten-

tion of De Rossi: Ioannes presbyter v (es) ter. John your priest. It appears certain that such a qualification as « presbyter vester », indicates that this John was attached to the service of the basilica of St. Cecilia. In fact, A. D. 879, a priest by name of John was the titulary of this basilica and subscribed to the Council of Rome of that year. De Rossi suspected also that this is the same John who had caused the decorations to be made about the tombs of the Saint, after the discovery and removal of her body; for, in the remaining but now not existing outlines there of, De Rossi could read the following formula very common in the Byzantine epigraphy of the IXth century: Κύριε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου ΙωΑΝν..

Fig. 65. — Fresco of the Crypt of. St. Caecilia.

ἀμήν † : - Lord, help Thy servant John. Amen ». But all this is mere conjecture.

From the frieze to the bottom of the wall the paintings belong apparently to the Xth and XIth centuries and represent in a niche, the picture of the Saviour with the cruciform nimbus carrying a book richly bound and adorned with pearls. Then to thè right of Pope Urban I, with his name written vertically according to the custom of that epoch, and preceded by a cross; S. VRBAN. This painting seems to have been made after the tranfer of the Saint; at all events, the author wanted to represent Pope Urban I, and not merely a simple bishop of that time. Notice also the form of the pallium which does not suit the VI century and which indicates the last transformation of this vestment. In the IX century the pallium, though not having a different form from this one, did not generally show a cross on the shoulders, but one cross only at the end. A painting of St. Clement in Rome, perhaps of the IX century, showing a pallium of the kind described above, would be an exception.

Other paintings may be seen in the largest part of the lucernarium. They are divided in three panels:

a) in the first, the highest is the figure of a young lady, an « Orante, » (St. Cecilia);

b) in the middle, a cross between two lambs;

c) in the lowest and the largest are three images of saints, Policamus, Sebastianus, Curius. The first is unknown; but his name is found with the name of St. Optatus, in the « Notitia nataliciorum », « the List of birth days », the other is not the so-called, local martyr although he was buried here. So also the third. All three are clad in a laced tunic and a whitish pallium; at the feet of Policamus a palm tree is shooting forth from the ground and Quirinius wears the sacerdotal tonsure, which, in the paintings later than the IV century was for the greater part the distinctive mark of the episcopate. Consequently, there is question here of St. Quirinius of Siscia, whose body was transferred to Rome in the IV century and buried in the catacombs of St. Sebastian, when the Huns invaded the Roman Pannonias. It cannot be the other Quirinus, tribune, venerated in the cemetery of Praetextatus, next to St. Callistus.

Before leaving this crypt, let us notice, that near the narrow gallery which communicates with the Papal crypt, a fragment of the inscription of Urban was found, OVRBANOC, and that the epitaph of Pope Pontian was also found in three different parts of this crypt. Should we take it literally, that Pope Urban buried St. Cecilia amongst the bishops, his colleagues? This question may not yet be decided, but it deserves to be studied. The difficult problem concerning Pope Urban and the date

of the martyrdom of St. Cecilia may be cleared up by the excavations now going on in the cemetery of St. Praetextatus.

It is quite natural for the descendants of the glorious martyr St. Cecilia to be buried hard by. A large slab of marble, fixed close by to the wall of the crypt portico, answering a sacristy, bears the inscription of a « Praetextuatus Caecilianus » and of a « Petilia clarissima », (illustrious), most probably his wife.

This inscription is not later than III century, and certainly indicates two illustrious persons; the second belonged to a senatorial family.

Marangoni saw two sarcophagi in this crypt, which were backed against the walls; no traces of them can be found. There are three slabs with inscriptions. Here are two of them:

☧

*Octa*VIVS · CAECILIANVS · V · C || *in pa*CE DEPOSIT || ... S · MAIAS · VIX | *ann*. XXXXIII ‖ *dies* (?) VIII

Pompeia ATTICA ‖ C · F · VIX ‖ A · XVII · M · III ‖ D · XV.

They are the parents of a little daughter whose sarcophagus has been put here, it seems; daughter of a Caecilianus most illustrious; she bears the titles of the nobility of her parents: Pompeia Octavia, Attica, Caeciliana, little daughter, most illustrious. The inscription is in the Lucina region.

In the beginning, the crypt was not as vast as it is to-day; it was made larger at different times when the gatherings of the pilgrims required larger standing room. As the cemetery of Callistus was formerly called: ad Xystum, near Xystus, it was also called ad S. Caeciliam, near St. Cecilia; the contiguity of these signal sanctuaries is admirably confirmed, not only by the monumental proofs given above, but also by the topographical documents, by the index of Abbot John and by the Acts of St. Cecilia (1).

In recent excavations in the chapel of St. Cecilia, besides the inscription already mentioned of Pontian, a goodly number of other inscriptions, pieces of columns of cipollino (truncated columns), and Ionic capitals have been discovered.

THE AREA OF THE CAECILII: ITS HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.

A modern opening gives entrance to the first transverse gallery to the Area of the Caecilii, and, turning to the right, we come to the first ambulacrum (A) (fig. 51), a walk, an alley which marked the Northern limit of the primitive area, just as the ambulacrum B marked the Southern limit. All this region in the beginning had but

(1) See the synoptical table of the topographical documents, p. .

one level which began at A (fig. 66): it was only on account of a later deepening that the principal ambulacra got partly this extraordinary height.

Professor Bonavenia, of the Gregorian University, drew the attention of the savants to this principle: « the high galleries of the cemeteries suppose different epochs of excavation, they passed on to these by successive deepenings, diggings, which might be termed level ». « The ambulcrum or gallery AA, section of which is seen in fig. 66, is divided in three levels by dotted lines traced by De Rossi. Nevertheless the rule of digging vertically must be equally applied to the same galleries, but only for the deepest part. In as far as the higher part is concerned, i. e. above the dotted lime C D, this rule, says De Rossi, does not hold, for the following reasons:

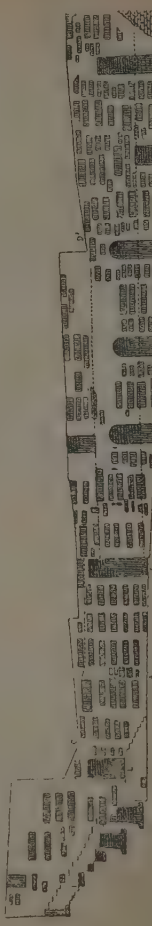

Fig. 66. — Longitudinal section of gallery AA.

1) The upper part offers no indication of a greater antiquity than do the others; it would rather seem to belong to the IV century;

2) It was dug above an earth-work, upon which one could walk for a while: for, the two lower levels were filled with earth, at least at the beginning of the IV century.

Indeed, the section of gallery AA (fig. 67) shows clearly that in the beginning of the first level, the one in the middle, was at *a b*, and that the second higher one was dug only after the first one had been filled to this point.

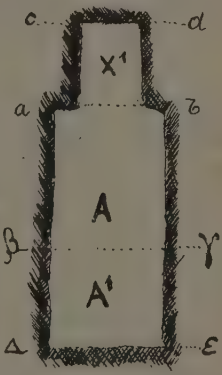

Fig. 67. — Transversal section of gallery AA.

This work of filling up is intimately connected with the history of the Papal Crypt. It precedes the first explorations of the catacombs and goes back to the highest antiquity. Whereas the earth used for this purpose is not local earth, it follows that in time only of furious persecution and of confiscation of the Papal cemetery did the Christians fill in this part. De Rossi showed also, that it was during a confiscation that the two large stairways A and B (fig. 49) were obstructed and rendered impracticable; as a matter of fact, we do not understand why two so convenient stairways should

be destroyed, unless it be by reason of necessity, especially in order to make safe the tombs of the pontiffs and of the martyrs.

The earth therefore used to fill up, after peace was restored to the Church, was not taken away, but was dumped and levelled so as to form a new piece of ground in which the highest level was dug. At the time this earth was removed, De Rossi found coins which certainly were in circulation at the time of this filling up. All these coins are later than the second half of the III century: there are: one of Aurelian, three of Claudius the Gothic, two of Gellian, one of Probus, four of Maximian and one of Diocletin; when Boldetti, at the time he was searching for the bodies of martyrs, removed this earth, coins of a more recent epoch, belonging to the upper part, got necessrily mixed in. They may have fallen in also when the new level was put to use.

The height, therefore, of the galleries AA, BB and CC (fig. 51), together with the state of the destruction of the stairways makes known that the primitive history of the cemetery has no other source in the region added to the gallery BB and communicating with an enormous arenarium. Wherefore this communication?

The great archaeologist De Rossi was busy specially with the architectural study of this region; his brother Stephen, after attentive and detailed examination, concluded that this system

of galleries was a way to enter and to leave the cemetery secretly whilst the other ordinary entrances were either destroyed, or watched by the soldiery. In fact, these numerous galleries had originally but one opening in the arenarium, and they seem to arranged to deceive or retard the persecutors.

At the turns, the gallery does not finish with an angle, but still continues a few steps, to end against the rock. Now just imagine a troop of soldiers venturing into these galleries: how often they must have knocked against the tufa, how often they must have retraced their steps, in surprise and terror: Then again, the arenarium, curious as it may appear, has a suspended ladder, apparently and expressly for secret ingress and egress.

Such is, in brief, the opinion of the brothers De Rossi concerning the cemetery of Callistus, as revealed by the monuments.

Let us now consider the monuments of the funeral Area. From inscriptions and paintings it seems that its origin dates back to the first Antonines. St. Zepherinus did not construct this cemetery, but gave it to his deacon Callistus to administer. Therefore it existed before the year 199, either as private or as ecclesiastical property. Its chronology is fixed by the spacious and regular tombs dug at great distances, by the absence of arcolosia, by the laconism of the inscriptions and the formulae written often

in Greek characters, by the paintings, their technique, their secret symbolism, and the subjects represented by them.

We have spoken enough of the architectonic forms. It is useless here to point out indi-

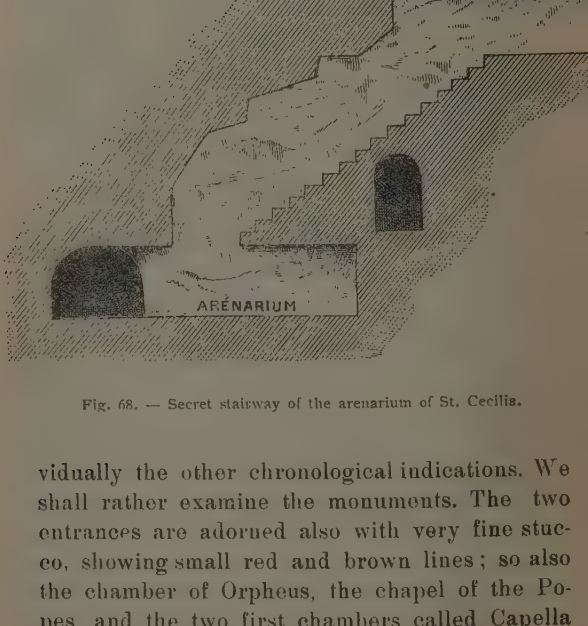

Fig. 68. — Secret stairway of the arenarium of St. Cecilia.

vidually the other chronological indications. We shall rather examine the monuments. The two entrances are adorned also with very fine stucco, showing small red and brown lines; so also the chamber of Orpheus, the chapel of the Popes, and the two first chambers called Capella

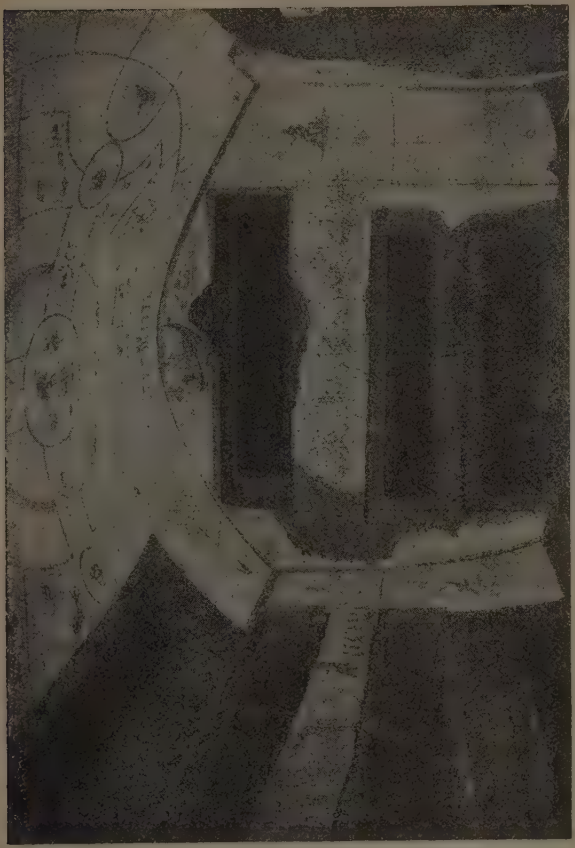

Fig. 60. — Chamber of the Sacraments A 2.

dei Sacramenti «of the Sacraments» They are therefore synchronous works.

Moreover, as we advance in the gallery, the

paintings are less beautiful, as are also the stuccos of the other chambers; besides, these are at a lower level, and hence, they are of a more recent date.

The chambers of the sacraments.

An examination of the paintings, one by one, will give us the same result.

Chamber I. — The first chamber to the right, at the foot of the stairway, has been raised to the landing of the modern stairway: the ceiling has been elevated and the walls have been scratched. But for a little stucco, still adhering to the walls there is nothing remarkable. On the plan of De Rossi it is called A^1, and serves as a passage to the contiguous region (fig. 50 n. 10).

Chamber II. — Not so for the following chamber A (fig. 69). Very near the entrance to the left, between two tombs, we see three different subjects in one tableau (panel). *a*) Moses with his rod, striking water from the mystical rock, water of eternal life; *b*) a fisherman has just caught a small fish in the water. In presence of this scene, should we not recall the words of Tertullian, « the little fishes born of the water » (1), i. e. the Christians born in Baptism: and the word of Clement of Alexandria who

(1) De baptismo, I.

recommended to his hearers to recall to mind the great fisherman St. Peter, and the children (the neophytes) drawn from the water. (1) All these quotations refer to the words of the Saviour addressed to Peter : « Henceforth thou shalt catch men », and to the Apostles: « Follow Me, I shall make ye fishers of men » ! *c)* In order to complete this tableau, there is the

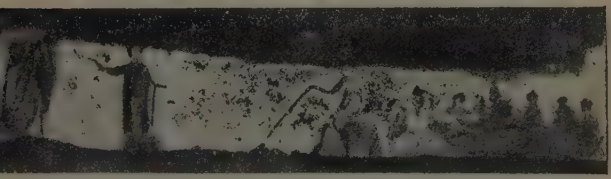

Fig. 70. — Symbols of Baptism and of the Eucharist.

repast on the banks of lake Tiberias, where seven Apostles or disciples ate of the fish caught in the miraculous fishing: « The broiled fish, says St. Augustin, is Christ in His passion ; He is the bread come down from heaven into which the Church incorporates herself so as to have life everlasting (2). Piscis assus Christus est passus; hic est et panis qui de coelo descendit ; huic incorporatur Ecclesia ad participandam beatitudinem sempiternam. (Fig. 70 and 71*)*.

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(1) Paedag., II, 3 (Migne, VIII, col. 639).

(2) In Johan, tract. 123 (Migne, XXXV, col. 1966).

When De Rossi saw for the first time these repeated representations of the fish, he felt not a little embarrassed. But at that time all kinds of monuments were discovered bearing this mystic sign; the meaning of the fish then became certain and evident. It meant Christ. I shall herefter quote several of these inscriptions Let us continue the examination of the paintings.

On the wall facing the entrance there is a single subject: it is the oldest representation of

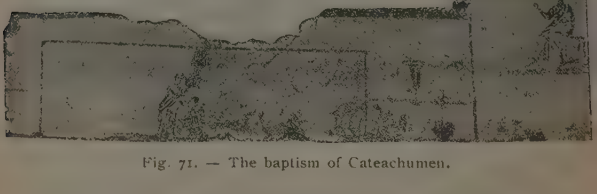

Fig. 71. — The baptism of Cateachumen.

the administration of baptism to catechumens in Christian art, (fig. 71). The one to be baptised is naked, with his feet in the water; the priest, in sacred robes, (the tunic and pallium) has his hand on the head of the catechumen. This is a most valuable representation, which shows us a manner of administering baptism, which certain heretics considered as insufficient: viz. by infusion. Over this representation and on the ceiling is a tripod on which are placed a fish and two loaves, and to the side, seven baskets of loaves. It is still the Divine Fish, but this time it is placed on the altar: it is an allusion to the multi-

plication of the loaves, which, according to Origen and a great number of the Fathers who follow him is a symbol and a figure of the eucharistic consecration.

In the lunette, between it and the foregoing subject, there is a scene which, if considered in this way, is unique among the catacombal paintings:

Fig. 72. — Eucharistic symbols.

its interpretation is given us by analogous monuments: there is a ship (fig. 73). It is nearly covered by waves; notwithstanding, a person therein in the attitude of prayer remains undisturbed in spite of great danger (1). The person is praying and his prayer is heard: the figure of a young man with two rays streaming from his forehead

(1) This explanation is Mgr. Wilpert's.

is leaning from heaven and places his hand on the head. There is no doubt, but we have here the image of divine succour, extended to the soul to save it from the waves of this world and from perdition. This idea is a very old one, and common in the liturgies of the dead. We read, for instance, in the Gallican Sacramentary this prayer: « Lord, our Saviour, Thou Who hast vou-

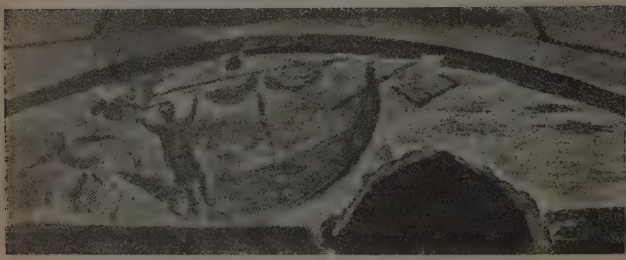

Fig. 73. — Symbol of the Church.

chsafed to receive the good out of the waves of this world... ».

The ship tossed by the tempest, is the Church, according to the Fathers: and the figure of the Lord reaching forth from the skies, and placing His hand on the head of the person in prayer, can be compared with monuments which represent Christ as Judge in the same attitude: (fig. 39, and, 41). We may certainly apply to this subject the words of the inscription of the martyr Zosima: « Receive me near Thee, o Lord,...

She was heard immediately, for she was admitted to enjoy (happiness). « The lot of an infidel is represented by another person struggling in the midst of the billows.

On the wall to the right we see: a) the resur-

Fig. 74. — The Dolphin on a trident.

rection of Lazarus, an eloquent symbol of final resurrection, of which Baptism and the Eucharist are the pledges; b) the dove, a symbol of the soul delivered from the fetters of the body; c) then follows a decorative detail: the dolphin on a trident (fig. 74). This is a pagan symbol which was probably adapted to a Christian idea,

as other pagan subjects were, and it represents the cross, and the dolphin a figure of Christ, Who loves man.

The ceiling is divided with exquisite taste into panels. In the middle is the image of the GOOD SHEPHERD.

The principal subjects therefore are: the spiritual birth: the Eucharist and the last things: also the ideas of damnation and of hell. These

Fig. 75.— Symbols of Baptism, and of the baptism of Jesus.

same subjects will repeat themselves in the following crypt.

Chamber III. — The floor of CHAMBER A is the primitive level, and as in the first gallery, digging was there begun: there is a slight incline at the entrance. To the left, on the wall of the entrance, in the mystical rock, the source of grace, and Moses who personifies Peter the minister. A series of types of baptism is on the left wall. The first is destroyed. The second is a fisher angling a little fish. At the side is found the baptism of the Saviour. (fig. 75.) Jesus is represented for the first time as an infant, for

the reason given above (p. 55); is naked and has his feet in water; John Baptist wears a simple tunic and pours water abundantly on the head of the Saviour. Behind John, higher up, is the dove, which is hardly visible now in the original. Then follows the figure of the paralytic carrying his bed on his shoulders; he also is a type of baptism, for he reminds us of the bathing in the miraculous pool. Father Marchi would see in it even a figure of penitence.

The wall in face of the entrance is dedicated to symbols of the Eucharist; though they be separated, the scenes have a connecting link. Abraham and Isaac are in the attitude of prayer and not of sacrifice. Beside them are the ram and the fagot: There is no possible doubt about the meaning of this scene. All the Fathers see in it a figure of the bleeding sacrifice of the cross. On the other side, and as a counterpart, is the mystical sacrifice, the Mass. There is a tripod, the simplest form of an altar, to be placed against the tomb of the dead, to celebrate here the sacrifice of the anniversary « pro dormitione » for the repose of the soul » On the tripod are a fish and a loaf of bread; to the right a man is standing covered with a Greek pallium, which leaves a partof his chest and his right shoulder bare: he is extending his hand as if he wished to take the fish. To the left is an ORANTE. De Rossi seems to recognize therein the act of consecration: his followers are of the

same opinion Mgr. Wilpert, studying most specially the origin and the development of the Eucharistic symbols, found that this one does not differ materially from the others, and that the man who had before him the fish and the bread, should be thus interpreted : CHRIST multiply-

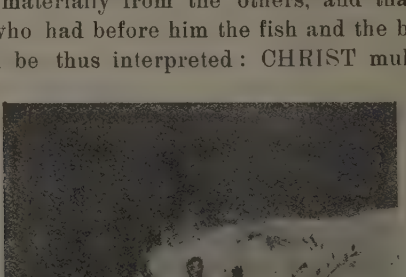

Fig. 76. — Sacrifice of. Isaac.

ing the fishes and the loaves, a symbol of « consecration ».

However that may be, the meaning is the same and all agree on this subject. As for the Orante, De Rossi thinks she personifes the Church assisting at the sacrifice. Others, supported by the poetry of Alvercius, thought that she was Faith, the constant guide of the bishop of Hierapolis. Accor-

ding to Mgr. Wilpert, it is the the soul of a departed; we shall see elsewhere the reason for this opinion.

In between these two figures of the divine sacrifice, we naturally find the eucharistic banquet, the consummation of the holy species (fig. 78). It is

Fig. 77. — Symbol of the Eucharistic consecration.

presented in its habitual type: seven persons around a « sigma » or a table in the form of a C, the Latin letter for Greek sigma on which table a fish is served, and before which is the ordinary allusion to the multiplication of the loaves

This painting and the preceding one are synthesised in the painting of fig. 72 of the chamber

A2. Hence their eucharistic meaning in more evident still.

On the right wall there ought to have been symbols of the resurrection; but unfortunately the plaster has entirely disappeared.

Finally, on the entrance wall there is the scene of the Samaritan woman. It is not the historical type, since the water of the well is overflowing, and

Fig. 78. Eucharistic Banquet.

the Saviour is represented seated higher up with an unfolded scroll in His hands. We have therefore here a symbol of that water which quenches thirst forever, as promised by Jesus to the Samaritan woman, which idea of refreshment we find so often repeated in the patristic, liturgical and epigraphic documents, and in the Acts of the martyrs.

Between the highest tombs and the ceiling are the three scenes of Jonas, reminding us of death and resurrection, as we know.

In the middle of the ceiling is the slender and

beatiful figure of the GOOD SHEPHERD, now hardly visible.

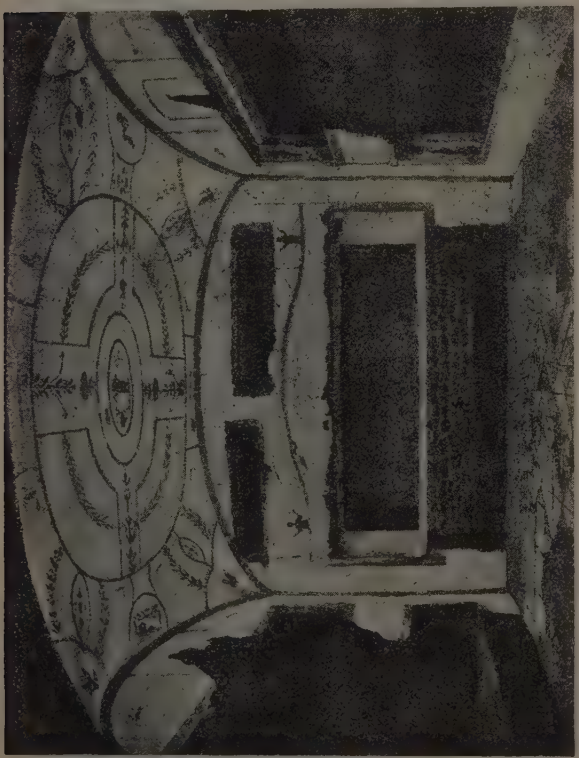

Fig. 79 — Chambre A-4 (close of II ceduury).

Chamber IV — Chamber A 4 (fig. 51 and 79) has its floor raised and covered with marble of various colours, (opus alexandrinum, the ceiling

appears to be low. The paintings are generally decorative.

Chamber V. The same remark applies to Chamber A^5 which has a vault, in the shape of a cradle; you must go down a step, to enter. Notice the usual banquet with the fish, around which are seated seven guests and near which are seven baskets, an allusion to the multiplication of loaves.

Fig. 80. — Paintings of Chamber A-6.

Chamber VI. — Chamber A^6 has less damaged stuccos than the others. We find there, in order, the series of the symbols of A^2 and A^3 but inversely, from right to left. We therefore see: Moses and the rock, the banquet with the fishes and the twelve baskets, the

history of Jonas, the resurrection of Lazarus. Really the cycle could not be more perfect. Notice though that the symbolism here is not as full of mysteries and ideas as is that of the first chambers; this indicates a later epoch just as the lower level of the chamber and the less perfect art of the paintings do.

The last scenes of Jonas and of Lazarus, the beautiful verses of Damasus already quoted and

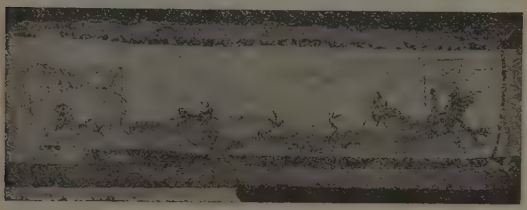

Fig. 81. — Symbols of death and of resurrection.

the fervent prayer of Apostolic Constitutions bring back to my memory: « We believe also in the resurrection, for the Lord Himself is arisen. He it was Who recalled Lazarus to life, after he was buried three days. Who raised the daughter of Jairus to life, and the son of the widow; Who, also, by order of His Father, is raised after three days and is thus become the pledge of our own resurrection, — He who after three days, saves Jonas living and intact from the belly of the monster, Who saved the three young men from the furnace, and Daniel

from the jaws of the lions, He can also save us from death. » (1)

In this last chamber was placed also an inscription referring to the Caecilii : SERGIUS ALEXANDER CAECILIE FAUSTAE CONJUGI SUAE BENEMERENTI FECIT ; Sergius Alexander made this to Caecilia Fanste his well deserving spouse.

Let us now pass on to the inscriptions of their *area*.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FIRST AREA

Beginning at the stairway, at the foot, to the right, (fig. 51), there is an ancient slab with only two names PRISCA ET MVSES, engraved in beatiful letters. To the right is the Good Shepered towards whom a lamb, full of expression, is looking ; behind it, a tree, the symbol of paradise ; on the other side an ORANTE. The inscription is perhaps of the II century.

Further on against the wall, is the important inscription of Cyriacus : (fig. 83) : « Car Kyriaco Fil dulcissimo Vibas in Spirito SA... To dear Cyriacus, very sweet son. May thou rest in the (holy) Spirit. »

Further on, to the left, another important inscription : Augurine in Domino et ☧ :

O Augurinus (live) in the Lord and in Iesus Christ » (fig. 83).

These two inscription are analogous to two

(1) V. MIGNE I, col. 843.

others found near this place. (Figg. 84 and 85):

« To Genesis Christina, who, having believed in God and in Christ, is with the Angels.

Fig. 82. — CAR KYRIACO FIL CULCISSIMO VIBAS IN SPIRITO SAncto.

Pax Domini et Christi cum Faustin... Attico. May the peace of the Lord and of Christ be with Faustinus Atticus. »

These formulae are borrowed from an old « formula fidei, » formula of faith, and give us the principal articles of the Apostolic Symbol in use in Rome before the Council of Nicea (1).

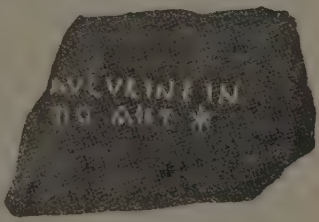

Fig. 83. AVGVRINE IN DOM(ino) ET.

(1) See my vol. II, lib. I, Notiones archaeol. christ., for the relation between these inscriptions and the Gnostic heresies at the times of Popes Zepherinus and Callistus.

Under the inscription of Augurinus there are several intact tombs.

A fe wsteps further on, to the right, is the inscription of Priscus, with a sentence taken from the fu-

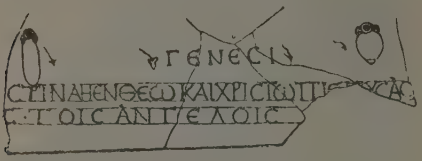

Fig. 84.

neral liturgy : « Priscus in pacem (suscipiatur). » May Priscus be received in peace ; this is accompanied by a picture of the Good Shepherd. (Fig. 86)

Under this inscription are to be be found tombs called by de Rossi « sepolcri a mensa » table-tombs : (see : arcosolium) - at the bottom of the gallery is the group of fish and the anchor, corresponding to the epigraphic sentence : Spes in Christo, in Deo. Hope in Christ, in God. By the side of it, the following inscription :

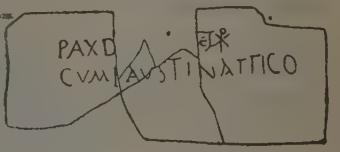

Fig. 85.

RECDETE BENEMERENTI FECIT MATER

To Redditus well, deserving, his mother erected this. There are carved : a vase, indicating the fragile body of the dead, and a dove, ready to fly from

an upset basket full of flowers. This is a pagan symbol: the upset basket meant the body of the dead, and the bird, the parting spirit. Another example of this is found in the cemetery of Domitilla.

Having gone beyond this gallery which leads to CC (fig. 86), we see to the left this inscription:

EUGENI SPIRITUS IN BONO.

Spiritus is for Spiritus tuus; the inscription is then a wish for eternal life: « O Eugene, may thy soul be in happiness, (the eternal GOOD). The soul is represented by a roughly formed, mutilated dove.

Near by the incomplete inscriptions of a Pomponius Bassus of a Pomponius Graecinus were found.

Here are two remarkable inscriptions found in the region which communicates with the arenarium:

AGATEMERIS, SPI
RITVM . TVVM . INTER
SANCTOS

« *O Agatemeris, may thy soul be amongst the saints.* »

This inscription is between two doves, which represent the saints.

IANUARIA BENE REFRIGERA ET
ROGA PRO NOS

Januaria, be refreshed and pray for us.

At the point where the stairway B was de-

stroyed, the fossores dug a first story which, at present, on account of its dilapidated state, presents nothing remarkable.

Before leaving the first area in the cemetery of Callistus, you might ask me where the thousands of martyrs were deposited (multa milia), whom the pilgrims of the VII and VIII centuries indicated in this place, and where

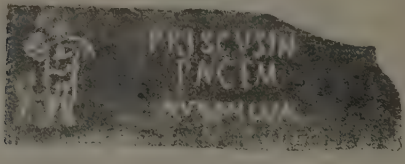

Fig. 86.

were the 80 martyrs or more, buried near St. Cecilia.

In the second transverse gallery H H, a large stairway was discovered descending near the crypt of St. Cecilia. De Rossi, thinking that it was the famous polyandria, (1) of the 80 mayrtyrs, caused it to be cleared away. Arriving at the foot of the stairway and opening several yards of the gallery, they met a very sandy rock without tombs. This stairway was then the result

(1) A tomb in which were heaped together a whole crowd from the Greek πολύ, ανήρ man,

of an attempt of the fossores to dig a third story, made useless by the nature of the rock (1).

In the gallery C C there is a series of large polyandria where numerous corpses were thrown together pell-mell. Now, it is certain that the Christians were loathe to deposit one body upon another: Tertullian tells us a well-known legend, that a dead body retired to the bottom of a loculus in order to leave room for another one which the fossores wanted to place on him. In order to explain the presence of these polyandria, De Rossi proposed two hypotheses: that of an epidemic and that of a wholesale slaughter. The illustrious archaeologist was rather inclined towards th elatter, and an old grave digger, who always accompanied him in explorations, stated that he had seen De Rossi at various time kneel down in prayer, when passing by these tombs.

THE AREA OF SAINT MITIADES (fig. 50, II).

This is the second area of the cemetery of Callistus says De Rossi. Mgr. Wilpert does not share this view: according to him, it is an area,

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(1) Notice that the steps are covered with tiles bearing underneath the marks of the maker, (a trade-mark, as it were) appearing to be synchronous with the establishment of the stairway. De Rossi follows the opinion of Marini, and believes them to belong to the time of Commodus; according to Dressel they belong to the epoch

but the meeting-point of several surrounding areae. It would be the result of the continuation of the region of the CAECILII, which begins under the Damasan stairway, and was indicated by the letters PRS; of the continuation of the region of St. Eusebius (III) which De Rossi called the third area, by the gallery o o; finally, of the continuation of the region of St Lucina, named by De Rossi « ancient anonymous cemetery. » These continuations show the characters of antiquity anterior to those of the second region; reasonably then it must be said that the latter is more recent.

The principal reason which made De Rossi accept this opinion, was the fact that his brother thought he had recognized the ruins of a stairway in the gallery a a, communicating with the former region by way of A, (no. 10). There is a lucernarium there, having unuonally y inclined sides, which all around are reinforced by (brick-) walls: a stairway leading to the third story is found there: a second stairway must needs have been there, communicating with the surface of the ground.

To tell the truth, the reason for the existence of a stairway in that place could not be under-

of Septimius Severus. However that may be, it is another most precious chronological indication, for this reason that, if the work is contemporaneous with these factories in activity, it was undertaken when the rectangular area was already devoloped,

stood; it would have been too steep, and no traces of it remain; then the impossibility of any stairway whatever, which requires space The walls were here, as in the gallery o o, absolutely necessary on account of the cella trichora (a tribie apsidal exhedra) built above it (p. 86 fig. 53). Epigraphy furnishes us with another reason, which I shall explain when we visit this region; now let us return to the stairway at the entrance. Under it are several chambers and a gallery whence starts the gallery S.

In the first of these chambers is the following inscription, written in very beautiful characters and repeated twice in different sizes. According to De Rossi, it presents one of the rare samples of the monogram prior to Constantine the Great:

☧

FL. CARTILI CORNELIANI DEP.
AVIII KAL SEP

The deposition or burial of Flavius Cartilius Cornelianus, Aug. 14 th.

In another very elegant chamber is the famous inscription of Dasummia.

DASVMTIA QVIRIACAE BONE FEMINE PALUMBA SENE FEL QUAE VIXIT . . LXS-EFPOSITA IIIIKAL MARTIA... IN PACE.

Dasummia Quirica a good lady, a dove without gall, guile-loss) who lived LX-S-Buried the IVth Cal. of March. Peace,

The soul which was called « the holy spirit » was also called « dove », which explains the meaning of the dove so often represented on the tombs.

In another chamber a small marble covered step bears this affectionate and short inscription. SATURMI ANIMA DULCIS : SATVRMIUS. SWEET SOUL.

At the entrance of the gallery S are seen also these characteristic inscription :

MNHCΘH Θεός, ZHCH εν Θεω. — May God remember... Liva in God.

ATTIKIANOS, Atticianus, (written twice on the moist plaster of a loculus.)

CIPIKA EΞμλΘεν Μνῶν Θ. — Sirika has left (this world), aged 9 months. »

AλεZαNΔPO Π. I ENΘEω. — « Alexander, drink in God ! », a wish for the departed to be admitted to the eternal banquet.

VALETIANUS,

In these and other omitted inscriptions, let us admit with De Rossi : " Greek language which predominates, writing of a beautiful character, ancient symbols. i. e. anchors, ship and dove with olive- branch ; single names or epitaphs of a short and classic formula „ (1).

All this seems to point to the first half of the 3rd century.

(1) Roma sotterr. , t. II, p. 272.

Here are the principal inscriptions of the gallery « a a » and places around :

IVSTINVS. Justinus.

LAODIEIES ET FILIORVN. Tomb of Laodicia and her sons :

FORTVNVNA SE VIVA FECIT : Fortununa made this tomb during her life-time.

EIPHNH. On this tomb there is a very beautiful Orante standing on the pedestal ; a dove with an olive branch in its beak just as in the scene of Noah, is flying in her direction. On a small fragment of a sepulchral slab of this same region, the Ark of Noah was represented ; but instead of Noah, there was a female figure in a standing position and at prayer, and towards her the dove was flying. The meaning of the Ark is clear ; but it is evident that a departed soul was here, substituted for Noah as may be seen on other monuments also. Near by in gallery b, in an arcosolium, Daniel amidst the lions is painted ; but instead of Daniel we see the dead person arising half out of his grave. Really no one could wish a clearer demonstration of the meaning of the catacombal paintings.

Ο ΤΟΠΟϹ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ϹΥΜΒΙΩ ΕΠΟΙΗϹΑΝ

Here are two chambers (fig. 52, nos 5 and 4) one to the right and the other to the left, of the gallery. The first has the name : Saint Miltiades, because the body of this pontiff, who died in

315, fig 87, is supposed to have been buried here, in a magnificent sarcophagus. A reason for this opinion lies in the majestic and admirable lid.

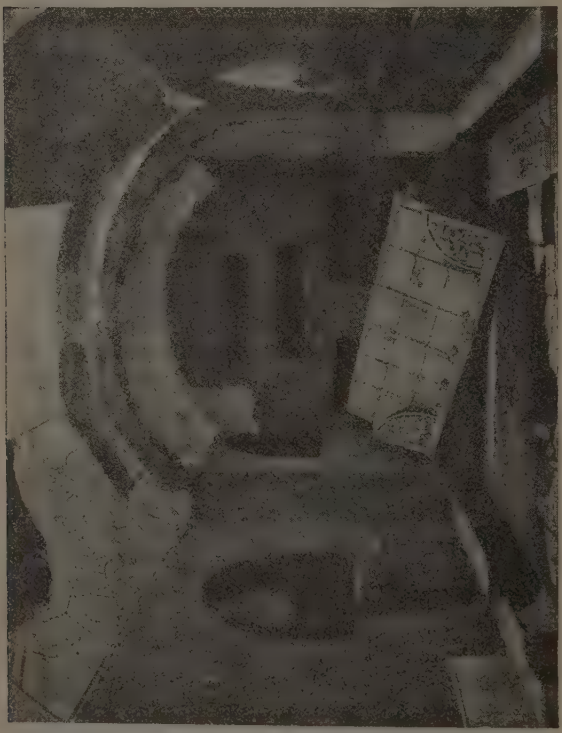

Fig. 87 — Crypt of St. Miltiades

It is in the form of a roof and of pagan style; and decorated with masks; and on the front part

are sculptured the Good Shepherd with His flock. This crypt was not intended at the beginning for a sepulture ; all around may be seen a step or a bench at the extremitities of which there are separate and higher seats ; this was the arrangement then in force, for the tables, at whose extremities more worthy persons were seated. This right was reserved to the president of the reunion. Marble slabs covered the walls as far as the beginning of the vault ; from there, to the summit of the lucernarium, there is a decoration of stucos with the resurrection of Lazarus, of the Good Shepherd and of another entirely effaced scene. On the floor is the inscription of an Exorcist (fig. 88). There has just been found the Greek inscription of a certain Paul with this beautiful acclamation: ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ *(Live) with all the Saints*

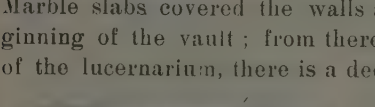

Fig. 88 — Paulus Exsorcista Depositio Martyries V. (Martyrdem V).

The chamber to the right is painted gracefully according to the classical style : there are small groups of dolphins, birds, flowers and the personification of the four Seasons. These last are of the pagan style ; but by adaptation to the Christian idea, they could be made to represent death and resurrection. So, Tertullian, St. Ambrose, St. augustine and others have made beautiful compar-

isons between the seasons and the life of a Chirustian. The chamber has three arcosolia, arranged

in the form of a cross: it is nearly the beginning of a basilica. The same remark applies the other chamber.

Just outside, afew steps to the right, we read on a heavy and rude marble slab :

AMEIMHTω ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΛΟΥΚΑΝΗ
ΛΟΥΚΙΛΛΑ Θ ΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝ
ΚΛΘ ΑΘ ΕCIC ΠΡΟ Ζ ΚΑΛΑ ωΚΤωΒΟΡΙωΝ

" To the incomparable and sweet mother Lucana, Licilla her daughter has made (this tomb). The burial took place seventh Calends of October.

Another inscription against the wall, reminds us of the formula , «Memento mortuorum », of the Mass :

MARINE .... QVE PRAECESSIT IN PACE. Marina who departed in peace.

The following chamber to the right (n. 8) is called the chamber of Sophronia, because a pilgrim of the IV century seemed to have been praying before the tomb of a person called Sophronia, of whom he left the souvenir in different parts of this cemetery, with touching sentiments of affection and of piety. At the foot of the Damasan stairway, he wrote on the plaster ;

SOFRONIA VIBAS CVNTVIS — Sophronia, may thou live to all ! " ... In the gallery, under the stairway, he wrote again :

SOFRONIA IN DOMINO. — « *Sofronia* (lives) *in the Lord* ». Finally, in the sepulcral chamber next to the above mentioned arcosolium, can be read the following words written by the same hand :

SOFRONIA DVLCIS SEMPER VIVES DEO
Sweet Sophronia, thou shalt always live in God!
" As if that were not sufficient, he wrote under the words just traced ; SOFRONIA VIVES DEO ; Yes, Sophronia, thou shalt live in God ..

It seems that human affection alone could have inspired the first graffito ; but immediately the thought rises, and in the last graffito, it is not only the desire, but the certainty, repeated twice,

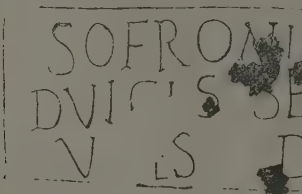

Fig. 90.

that the dear soul of Sophronia is in the boson of God.

In chamber (9) just opposite, a graceful sarcophagus of a child has been restored having the lid in the form of a roof adorned with masks. Bas-reliefs represent the customary scenes of stronger animals devouring weaker ones, by which scene the pagans used to indicate destruction, as signified by the name « of sarcophagus. »

Turning to the left under an arch built in ancient times, we find amongst others, the following inscriptions.

Ἀθηνοδώρου κατάθεσις πρὸ ιβ καλ. μαρτίων -

« The burial of Athenodorus took place twelve days before the Calends of March ».

PONTIUS ATENAGORAS QUI VIXIT. AN. XXII VIRGO. — Pontius Athenagorus, who lived a virgin 52 years.

Here also was found this devotional inscription:

VINCENTIA in ☧ PIETAS PRO PHOEBE ET PRO VIRGINIO EIUS — Vincentia, live in Christ, and pray for Phoebe and her husband ! » (1).

Turning then again to the left, by d d we find a chamber or crypt, called the OCEAN (fig. 91 and 52 no 11). It is small, rudely painted, exhibits a strange mixture of architectonic subjects and latticework made of reeds. A painting of the GOOD Shpherd was here ; but the inspiration of the decoration is in general pagan. In the middle are a head with a lobster's claw, a symbol of the Ocean and a portrait ; then to the side, some birds, figures of mutilated persons, peacoks and flowers. Only the bust of the portrait remains; the face was painted on canvas, now worn away. There were lively discussions about the sex of this figure : De Rossi said it was the figure of a man ; others with Mgr. Wilpert, said it was that of a woman. In truth the ending ISSIME of an incomplete word is seen,

(1) Virginius and Virginia were the names of those who had never before been married, i. e. *conjuges a virginitate*, spouses from the time of their virginity. We know that second marriages were not recommended by the Christians of the first four centuries, although ehe Church accepted and defended them even against heretics.

and in the IV century dead women were almost always represented wearing a toga.

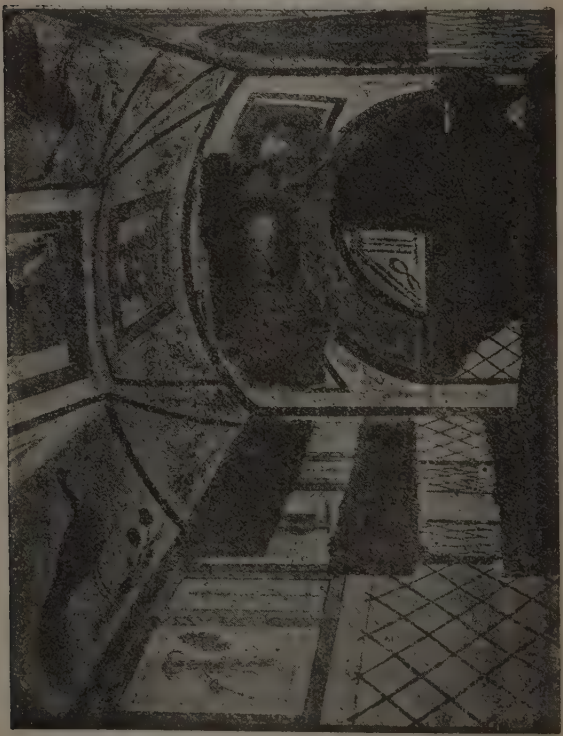

Fig. 91 — Chamber of the Ocean.

From the gallery d d we pass to the gallery o o, the part of which, going to the left, is contained in the region of St. Miltiades.

There is here nothing remarkable, except that part which is supported by a reinforced wall, on acount of the triabsidal basilica, of which I have already spoken.

Here, and in the branch-way b a, there are several important local inscriptions: two are of priests:

PRESBYTER IN PACE. — A priest in peace;

IULIANUS PRETBYTER. — Julian a priest.

The following, mutilated, iuscription completed by De Rossi is most affectionate:

....μΟΥ ΤΕΚΝΙΟΝ ζῆς ἐν θεῷ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΧΡΙ τῆς ζοῆς μου εὔχου ΠΕΡΙ ΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ περὶ...

« O my little child, live in God and as long as I live, pray for me and for... »

A few steps from this spot, there is a slab with the fish engraved at the side of an anchor, « spes in Christo » hope in Christ an anchor with a wooden yard in the middle to better represent the cross, which according to St. Paul is the anchor of Christians. Finally in chamber No. 10, (fig. 52), there are also two pagan inscriptions, which have either been thrown down the stairway or used to close Christian loculi.

After all that I have said, you may easily understand the immense difference between this region and the region of the Caecilii, in regard to the paintings and the architectonic forms; the difference in epigraphy is not very great. The symbolical and mysterious paintings have completely disappeared; not only historical paintings have not

taken their place, but, outside three subjects in the Crypt of St. Miltiades, everything here smacks of the classic art: no indications of transition are to be found here, which should be found in a region o fmiddle of the III century. On the contrary, these indications exist, feeble though they may be, in the adjacent regions, not so much for the rare paintings as for the architectonic forms. In fact, the tombs are large, at great distances from one another in gallery S and in the region under the stairway, and, as we shall see, in the « Anonymous Region » also towards the crypt of St. Lucina. Perhaps it may not be so with the gallery o o, but its natural development just meets the region we are describing and it may be that this communication is rather of a later period.

The epigraphy indeed shows forms which belong to the III century; there are Greek characters, often the word KATAΘECIC depositio, depositio, deposition, burial, which may be caused by the fact that many of these inscriptions come from the surrounding galleries. Taken all, in all supposing that this region did begin in the III century, it is not, so to say, an area added to the first, as if originating from it, but it seems on the contrary that this communication had been established after the persecution of Diocletian because a new stairway was built on the old one, A destroyed; hence, in order to unite with it the new level of the Caecilii region it became necessary to raise the floor of chamber A^1 (fig. 52, N. 10).

The region of St. Lucina is connected towards the East with the region of Callistus, not only thorough this « anonymus region », already mentioned, but also through a network of small narrow galleries, without chambers, which according to certain indications, seem to belong to the IV century (p. 52 fig· 59). Nothing note worthy here, if not several inscriptions : one, unique in the catacombs in Hebrew, painted: CHEPHAËL ; a nother in hexameters :

PRISCORUM INTERPRES VATUM DOCTORQUE « FIDELIS » (?)
DEUTERIUS PLÆCIDA SECURUS PACE QUESCIT.

« An interpreter of the ancient prophet and a faithful teacher, Deuterius reposes here quiet in serene peace » ; still another, very precious indeed, now in the Lateram Museum, giving the, date of the pontificate of Liberius: Sub Liberio papa ; under Pope Liberius ». This is cronologically the second of it kind, either for the form or because the title of Pope of bishop Rome is given.

« *de*FVNCTA. EST. EVPLIA. QVAR
TO. IDVS. MAIAS QVIEVIT. AFNORV
QVINQVE. DEPOSITA. IN. PACE. SUB LIBERIO. PAPA.

Euplia died the 4th u the Ides of May ; she lived five years ; she was buried under Pope Liberius.

Before the piece of marble, bearing the word *PAPA* was found, the inscription had been completed as given in fig. 92.

Let us pass on to the region of St. Eusebius.

Region of Saint Eusebius.

This region seems to be, chronologically, the second; but in fig. 52 it is marked III, as on the plan of De Rossi.

It begins at its own stairway and was reinforced in its principal artery *oo*, ; a first story was dug; its first outlines as those of the contiguous regions (fi g.53 and 53), recall to memory the gromatic (surveying or laying-off) operation of the augurs,

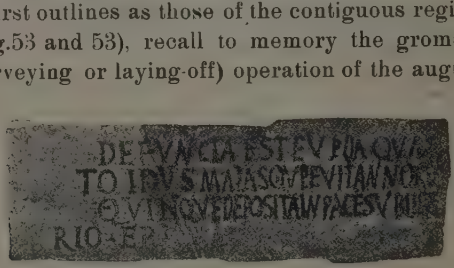

Fig. 92 — From the museum of the Lateran.

when they traced on the ground the limits of a temple, or the plan of a city (1). By following the gallery *oo*, we get to the foot of the stairway, noticing in passing a mutilated inscription with the formula « IN PACE inter SANTCOS, in peace with the Saints » ; also ... FILIAE IN DOMINO vivas », and *c*LAUDI VIBAS in *ae*TERNO. In the arcosolium at the end of chamber 8 is still in its place the inscription of three persons :

(1) Cfr. Nonnulla de symbolismo liturgico, Rome, Desclee, 1907.

DEP. PROFVTVRI. III. KAL. MAR.

Burial of Profuturus, the Calends of march.

DEP. QVIRIACI. VI. IDVS. IVN.

Burial of Quiriacus, the 6th Ides of June.

DEP. PRIMI. V. NON. IVLI.

Burial of Primus, the 5th Nones of July.

In the one to the left, are the remains of an excellent inscription of a widow to her deceased husband :

Q. *ofi*LIO TROPHIMO. FECIT AE*lia* CAPITOLINA CONIVGI SANCTISSIMO.

« *To Quintus Oflius Trophimus most virtuous husband, Ælia Capitolina has made this (tomb)* ». There are the three titles of the deceased, who was not therefore of ordinary condition ; the paleography resembles very much that of the inscription of a certain « Pancarius » on the floor. At the begining, the crypt had neither loculi nor arcosolia ; it was destined, as the two on the opposite side, to liturgical assemblies (Nos. 6 and 7). In fact, all these tombs were dug by breaking through the plaster. Amongst them is yet one of a child which is still closed. A lucernarium over the gallery gives light to this chamber and to chamber No 7, just opposite.

This chamber is rather large and rectangular. Three sarcophagi containing well kept bodies, were discovered under its floor ; two were nearly mummified and the third was wrapped in canvass ; but now they are falling into dust. One

has very long hair, believed to have grown after death. It is a tall and slender young man. The sarcophagus was covered with a colossal slab of marble, bearing the name ALEXSADRA engraved in rude letters; this is certainly not the name the for deceased, who was a man. The face of the sarcophagus is carved strigilate, wave or comb-like: there is the figure of the Good Shepherd at either extremity; in the middle the figure of the deceased is sketched, holding a scroll in his hand: at his feet are, to the right a package of scrolls, and to the left, a case (scrinium). The fact that the figure in the middle is hardly sketched, goes to prove that the sarcophagus had been bought ready made from the factory. It is doubtful whether he was a Christian; the shepherd with the dog at his feet and the sheep on his shoulders, is not a decisive indication of it. The pagans also often representend the good-shepherd, Mercurius Criophore (Mercury Ramcarrier) thus, and sometimes the Christians adapted this subject to the idea of the Good Shepherd.

The other sarcophagus of an adult is also decorated in front, comb-like. Both may belong to the close of the III or of the beginning of the IV. century.

The third sarcophagus (fig. 93) somewhat smaller, has in front, scenes inspired by epigraphy and the paintings. We see there Noah receiving the dove in the Ark, Daniel in the

lions' den, with the prophet Habacuc presenting to him bread marked with the monogram of Christ, the eucharistic symbol. In the middle the figure of the deceased barely sketched, between two sacred persons, i. e. the soul « inter sanctos » amid the saints. Then, Jesus changing water into wine, another eucharistic symbol, and the resurrection of Lazarus, which as we have already

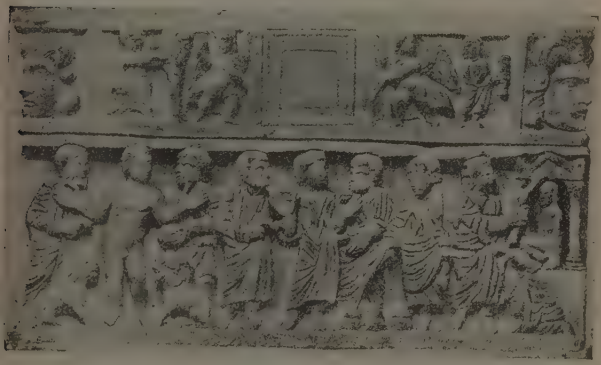

Fig. 93.

seen, constanly follows the symbol of the eucharist. The sarcophagus is posterior to Constantine : for as a rule, the sculptures with the symbols evidently Christian, could not have been executed generally speaking before the peace of the Church. No inscription gives us the name and the quality of the deceased ; it is probable

that the inscriptions were taken away from the floor ot the very first devastation.

Some wanted to see in these three chambers a place destined for cult, and, consequently, in the three enclosures, the distinction of the places for the clergy, the men and the women. De Rossi has even compared these three chambers with ihe underground basilica of St. Agnes (1). Jt is nevertheless, certain that outside the funeral liturgy at which only the friends of the deceased assisted, no other office not even the Sunday Mass which was public, could have been celebrated there, for want of space.

Let us now pass on to the other branch of the gallery. To its wall is fastened the following inscription :

BACCIS DVLCIS ANIMA IN PACE DOMINI QUE VIXIT ANNOS XV VIRGO DIES LXX PRID KAL SEPTEMBRES PATER FILIAE SU*ae* DULCISSIME. – « *Baccis, sweet soul, in the peace of the Lord. She lived 15 years, a virgin, 70 days, and died on the eve of the kalendes of September. The father made (this tomb) for his sweet daughter* ».

Crypt No. 10 is vast high and lighted by a lucernarium from the crypt on the other side. A great number of fragments has been gathered here ; one of the most important is the inscription of Sylvanus :

IN PACE SPIRITUS SILVANI AMEN

(1) Roma sotterr., t. II, p. 297.

In peace, the spirit of Silvanus, Amen.

Here are manifestly, says de Rossi liturgical prayers, principally such as were offered when the tomb was being closed. This cryp thas received the name of St. Caius (283-290); and the mutilated insciption of this pope has been placed here:

Γαιοῦ Ἐπισκόπου
ΚΑΘ
πρὸ ι ΚΑΛ. ΜΑΙων

Deposition of bishop Caius the 22nd of April».

This date was thus completed according to the information of the Philocalian Index and the Liber Pontificalis. Two other dates are given in the Martyrologies; in the estimation of De Rossi, they are the dates of transfers. My friend, Dr. George Schneider, nephew of the great archaeologist has proved pretty strongly that these transfers were not very probable (1), but the question is still historically open. What matters is that the fragments recovered here belong certainly to the official epitaph, if I dare say so, of Caius: that this pope was not interred in the hypogeum of the popes, but that, as Cornelius Miltiades and Eusebius, he was busied in the cemetery of Callistus *in crypta* in a crypt, *in antro*, in a grotto which means, in a different place from that of the other pontiffs. We shall see here after a souvenir of the cult of this pope.

(1) N. Bull. di Archeol. Crist., maggio 1907.

Let us remark that this crypt was visited by pilgrims who left indications of the passage. The walls, especially on the sides of the *loculus* where the inscriptionss are covered with graffiti, and in one of the groups of these graffiti, De Rossi was able to decipher the names of three bishops. Some seem to be real epitaphs; for instance:

ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟ COY BENIAMIN.

Lord come to the help of thy servant Benjamin.

ROMULE IN PACE MOROS VIVAS

Under the pavement are various tombs, one with this Greek inscription in beautiful charaters: ΚΑΤ ‖ ΜΑΞΙΜΑΣ. ΤΗΣ. ‖ ΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΟΥ. ΚΑΙ ‖ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΟΥΣ. ΠΡΟ. Ε ‖ ...ΩΝ ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΩΝ.

« Burial of Maxima, for ever worthy of memory and fearing God, the fifth day before the Ides of December ».

Above this one, another was written later on, nearly effaced by the crowds of pilgrims in the Middle Ages. The excellent condition of the other more ancient one proves that the visitors kept at a certain distance from the front of the venerated tombs, whilst it was possible for them to approach from the sides and scratch there their graffiti. On the right side, the first is also somewhat effaced, because a passage to a crypt behind the tomb was there. This crypt, N. 11, is another indi-

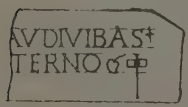

Fig. 94.
O Claudius, mayest thou live for all eternity.

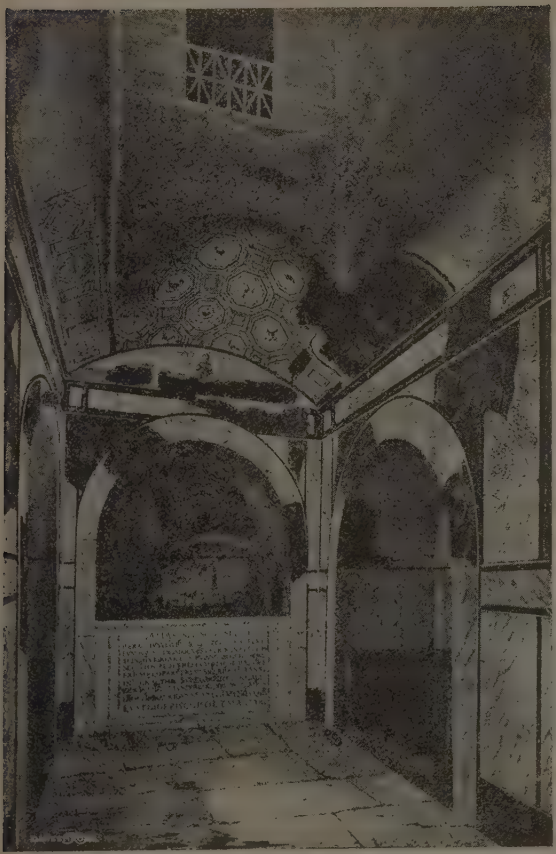

Fig. 95 — Crypt of Pope St. Eusebius.
Damasian inscription of Pope St. Eusebius.

cation of the veneration inspired by this place. By the monuments we are taught that the

faithful, not satisfied with providing for themselves a tomb near those of the martyrs, *ante retro*, before, behind, *juxta*, beside, *sanctos*, the saints, and had also real chambers dug, very often called « retro sanctos » ; here we have an example. It is not the tomb of poor but of rich people : the abundant light which penetrates by the Incernarium was reflected formerly on the marble of many colours and on the glass cubes of the moisaics which adorned the walls and the arcosolia.

In a little passage. on the left wall. a graffito reads :

FECIT ICONIUS... ADALBAV... IOC LOC. DIEBUS X.

« Iconius made and coated (in white) this place in ten days ».

Iscrizione damasiana del papa S. Eusebio.

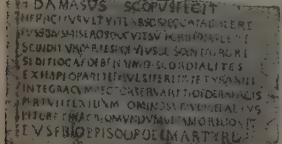

Fig. 96 — Copy of the VIth Cen.

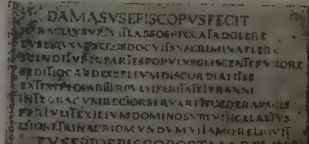

Fig. 97. — Reconstrion.

Above it is a monogram and to the left, also in graffiti the figure of a man and another monogram.

The crypt on the opposite side, (*N.* 9. fig. 95),

bears the name of St. Eusebius and gives its name to the entire region. It is very irregular, with three arcosolia arranged in the form of a cross: it was admirably decorated with various kinds of marble and mosaics, provided with a large lucernarium, and what is singular with a *matreneum* » which may be reached from the first story. The inscription there re-discovered is not the original of Damasus but a copy made perhaps in the VI century under Pope Virgilius after the siege by the Goths (fig. 96); it was engraven on the reverse of a pagan inscription issuing perhaps from the thermae of Caracalla. It is one of the rare inscriptions mentioning the fourth consulate of this Emperor. He who engraved it made more blunders than there were words He must have put to torture the spirits of the archaeologist, had not the poetry been copied in different documents. De Rossi had hardly noticed the small marginal letters of the inscription, when he was convinced that there was question of the signature of the famous engraver of the IV century and the name of FURIUS DIONYSIUS PHILOCALUS, the illsutrious calligraph of the Liberian Calendar. The fragments of the original marble helped to recontruct the poetry which is seen under the arcosolium to the right But. it is not exact; two new fragments discovered last year show us that the letters in the different lines of verse are not of equal dimension, that there were signs of very elegant interpunc-

tation and that the letters of the right column read: DAMISI... PAPAE... and not DAMASI SVI PAPPAE nor as the copy of the VI century DAMASIS PAPPAE (fig. 97).

This poetry is a page of ecclesiastical history unkown before the discovery of this crypt; for, if the text in different collections were extant there was wanting the dedication reproduced in the copy:

DAMASVS EPISCOPVS FECIT
EVSEBIO EPISCOPO ET MARTYRI,

Damasus, bishop, made (this) for Eusebius, Bishop and Martyr.

Then liturgy itself had to be corrected: the feast of Pope Eusebius, Confessor, was celebrated; to-day, he is venerate das a Martyr, The poetry therefore, is of the greatest interest, and deserves a short commentary. Here is the text of the inscription:

Heraclivs vetvit labsos peccata dolere
Evsebivs miseros docvit sva crimina flere
scinditvr in partes popvlvs gliscente fvrore
seditio caedes bellvm discordia lites
extemplo pariter pvlsi feritate tyranni
integra cvm rector servaret foedera pacis
pertvlit exilivm Domino svb ivdice laetus
litore Trinacrio mvndvm vitamqve reliqvit.

Right and left is engraved in rectilinear writing the known signature of Philocalus:

Damasi papae cultor atqve amator
Fvrivs Dionysius Philocalus scribsit.

Here is the translation:

« Heraclius forbade the *lapsi* to grieve for their sins: Eusebius taught those unhappy ones to weep for their crimes.

The people were rent in parties; fury increasing there arose sedition, slaughters, wars, discords, strife. Straigthtway both were banished by the cruelty of the tyrant, although the *ruler* was preserving the bonds of peace inviolate. He bore his exile with joy, looking to the Lords as his Judge; and on the Trinacrian shore he gave up the world and his life »... The servant and the friend of Pope Damasus· Furius Dionysius Philocalus engraved (this inscription) ».

Father Antoine Nortet who has translated this inscription, in his book on the cemetery of St. Callistus, adds these few explanatory lines:

« Since the III century, at the time of St. Cornelius, violent discussions were abroad in the Church, regarding Christians who had failed in face of the torments of martyrdom. These presented themselves, fortified with recommenda tions given them by the confessors of the faith, and asked for reconciliaton, and for participation in the sacraments, without penance. St. Ciprian, in his letters, speaks of troubles and seditions, which were created in his time, in various cities of Africa, by similar presumptions.

« At Rome, Novatian at first, and others with him, rejected without any mercy apostates from the bosom of the Church. The Popes, on the contr-

ary, did not refuse to hear these unfortunate people or to reconcile them after a test of long serious penances : and rejected the obstinate Novatians. The « lapsi » submitted humbly to the required satisfactions and peace was restored for many years.

« But, as a consequence of the atrocious persecution of Diocletian, which saw the courage of so many weakend by a long peace new quarrels arose and disturbed a second time the quiet and peace the of the Church. The « lapsi » had the boldness of lying to force the Church to again receive them unconditionally, Heraclius fomented the disordes, which became extreme, as Damasus tells us. The Emperor Maxentius, who notwithstanding his hyprocritical concessions, had no love for the Church, punished under the pretext of impartiality Pope Eusebius, for the violences of Heraclius, by sending Eusebius into exile at the same time with the abettor of the troubles. The holy pontiff was banished to Sicily where he died. His body was brought back later on, by the care of Pope Miltiades, and buried in the special crypt with which we are at present busy ». (pp. 107, 108).

This interpretation is based on the teaching of De Rossi, though it is not followed by all the historians. Some wished to recognize Heraclius as a rigorist disciple of Novatian, who refused the pardon of the Church to the lapsi. De Rossi

answered them, with other eminent epigraphists; here are in brief their principal arguments:

I. Heraclius, who was a Novatian heretic, could not raise such disorder in Rome; for at the time of Maxentius the Novatians were few in number; and we cannot suppose that the Emperor made much account of them.

2. Yf the second verse is explained by another analogous passage of St. Damasus, it will not have the sense given it. We know that Pope Marcellinus was obliged as were Pope Cornelius and Bishop Cyprian, to exact from the « lapsi » (whom the Catholics called miseri, miserrimi, unfortunate most unfortunate) a certain penance, the first part of which consisted in remaining at the door of the church, there to weep over their sins; and Damasus, alluding to this fact in the poetry composed in honour of this same Pope said:

VERIDICUS RECTOR LAPSOS QVIA CRIMINA FLERE.
PRAEDIXIT MISERIS FUIT OMNIBUS HOSTIS AMARUS.

That is, the pontiff became for all the « lapsed » a bitter enemy, by enjoining on them to weep over their crimes « quia praedixit lapsos sua crimina flere, fuit omnibus miseris (lapsis) hostis amarus ». if the meaning were different, we could not understand why they should have received them again into the Church.

At present, the most learned epigraphists are agreed upon this interpretation. Nevertheless Mommsen and several others, following the opi-

nion of Tillemont and de Merendà, who see in Eusebius a severe pope, who would prefer exile and death to a measure of prudence and mercy ; interpret the sixth verse :

INTEGRA CUM RECTOR SERVARET FOEDERA PACIS

« Although the « ruler » was preserving the bonds of peace inviolate » as if there was question not of the Church, but of the penitential discipline. This opinion is unlikely ; according to it, Maxentius would be a laxist heretic, or at the least, a protector of the « lapsi » because he exiled the Pope ; one might ask, why should he have condemned Heraclius « extemplo » straight way all of a sud, den ! »

There are some, it is true, who think that the word « pariter » does not apply to Heraclius and Eusebius but to Marcellinus and Eusebius I shall not stop a moment to refute this opinion which does violence to the text ; it might have some kind of likelihood if we could read « exemplo (Marcellini) pariter pulsi : « at the exemple of Marcellinus were exiled » ; to-day it cannot any longer be upheld, since we must read « extemplo pariter pulsi... and not « exemplo pariter pulsi ».

I beg leave to refer to De Rossi (1) whoèver wishes to go deeper into this question.

Notice the word : (Veredicus Rector, the Ruler

(1) Roma sotterr., Vol. II, pag. 203 and following.

who tells the truth, who teaches the truth. How important! The Infallible teacher!! — The Roman Pontiff! The Pope!

The bishop of Vesceri, Optatus, was buried in the crypt of St. Eusebius; De Rossi thought that he was in the arcosolium of the middle, where there is a place for two marble caskets. The body of this bishop mus thave been transferred to Rome when Genseric invaded Mauritania.

Before proceeding in this gallery, let us go up to the first story for a moment; it opens half-way up the stair way (p. 86 Fig. 52 m m m.)

On the right side we see a rythmatic and acrostical inscription, appearing to be prior to the time of peace of the Church:

T ENET AMICQRV*m* MEMORIA CARIT*atem*
H ONOREMQVE MIL*itiae* PERFVNCTNS *obivit*
E IVS ENIM FIDES OSTENDIT CORNICVLORV*m*
O MNIBUS COMMILITONIBVS AMICISQVE FI*delis*
D EO GVBERNANTEM FAMA MAGIS QVAM PEC*unia*
V RBANAE PRAEFECTURAE OFFICIVM EIVS INTE*gritatem*
L AVDES EIUS SI SUFFICEREM SEMPER
V T RATA SINT EI PROMISSA MVNERA LVCIS

Traslation:

This memorial retains (marks) the charity of his friends.

Having enjoyd the honours of the arms, he died.

His Faith shows the distinction of the ocrni-

culum. (which was a little horn worn as an honorable distinction on the soldier's helmet).

He was true to his companions - in - arms and to his friends.

Fame more than money made him govern for the interests of God.

He exercised his duty as urban prefect against suffering (to alleviate suffering).

Were I capable, I should sing his praises unceasingly.

That the gifts of « light » promised him, be ratified . . .

To the left in going up, we see an inscription which seems to have been made by a freedman or some ordinary person for his mistress, Cassia Faretria, « most noble, who has become his spouse ». According to the Roman law, the wife or the daughter of a senatorial family lost the title « clarissima » by marrying a man who was not a Senator. Many young Roman pagan girls preferred to be concubines, rather than to lose their title. But what was not praiseworthy in general, became a necessity for the young Chistian ladies of senatorial order. It so happened, that noble young Christian ladies espoused freedmen and even slaves; this marriage was not recognized by the laws of the Empire, but it was blessed by the Church. There may be an example of this in the above inscription. A similar case perhaps is seen in the epitaph of Caecilianus and Petilia in the Grotto of St. Cecilia,

A tomb, still closed, near the floor, bears this beautiful inscription: (fig. 98).

BETTONI IN PACE DEUS CUM SPIRITUM TVVM IXΘYC DECESSIT VII IDUS FEB. ANNORVM XXII – « *O bettenius, be in peace and may the Lord Jesus Christ* (ICTHUS) *be with thy spirit. He died on the ides of February, aged twenty-two years* ».

Literally: « May the Lord FISH be with thy

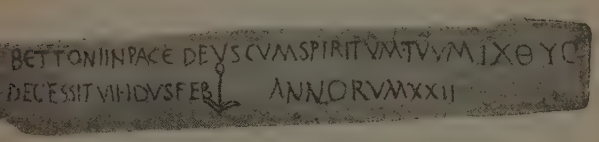

Fig. 98.

spirit ». Notice that the words « in pace » refer to the body, and the rest to the soul. We shall see the same expression in the inscription of deacon Severus.

*Cla*UDIANUS DULCISSIMAE FILIAE.

IULIA CLAUDIANE IN PACAE ET IRENE.

« In pace » (Latin for « in peace ») et » irene » (Greek, for « in peace ») refer possibly, the former to the body and the latter to the soul.

Here in this same region, this beautiful inscription in rustic Latin:

INDELECIA ISPIRITO TUO IN RENE.

« Endelechia may thy soul be in peace »

In the representations of the celestial banquets, Irene and Agape personify the happiness of the elect in paradise.

In the other branch of the gallery there are important inscriptions.

A marble slab bears a triangular level; it closed perhaps a mason's tomb. On another there is a Roman balance; on another, a trident to which are attached two fishes, referring to Christ, as the trident does, perhaps, to the cross (fig. 99).

VICTORINANUS SERB *(us)* VIXT — ANNIS X — MENSES IIIIDEES I.

Fig. 99.

DECESIT III IDUS MA *(ias)*. Victorinanus, Servant. He lived ten years, four months sand... days. He died the 3rd of the Ides of May.

Turning to the right, you may lean over the open « matroneum » on the crypt of St. Eusebius. Here, to the right, there is a painted arcosolium representing: to the left, Daniel in the act of sentencing the old men who wished to ruin Suzanna. The painting is of the III century, and it was believed that it represented the judgment of one or two martyrs. De Rossi thought

of Parthenus and Calocerus, and wanted to see a similar scene to the right: but Moses is seen there striking the rock. In the middle of the arch is the figure of the Good Shepherd, wearing a short tunic decorated with brown segments or discs as far as the knee, (baskin).

In the opposite chamber a sarcophagus of the III or IV century, of pagan style, was reconstructed, on the lid is a statue of the deceased, lying on his left side, and holding a scroll in his hand. A peacock or a phœnix lying near him is an emblem of immortality. The folloiwng is the inscription on the front side of the sarcophagus:

DEP. PHOYBIANUS. V. IDUS. NOVEMBRES. Phorybianus was laid here the fifth Ides of November.

In the left branch of the gallery are three crypts with intact loculi. On one of the crypts is seen the « mensa oleorum », the table of oils; it is a broken piece of a column on which stood a vase of perfumed oils: this was formely considered as a positive mark of the tombs of martyrs.

It is certain that these lamps and tables were found near the tombs of the most illustrious martyrs; but it is equally certain that they were also found in front of the tombs of Christians who were not martyrs.

On the left wall are the fragments of sarcophagi; one is remarkable, because it shows an Orante between two trees i. e., the soul of the deceased in paradise. To the right of the Orante is

a shepherd leaning on his staff with his reposing flock (about him); to the left, is another pastoral scene in which one shepherd seems to be milching a sheep, and another to be fondling the surrounding lambs.

A little further on in the principal gallery, are other inscriptions, sometimes of a beautiful palæography, and closing their loculi. On one of them is seen the « crux gammata. (the gammated cross or the fourfold repetition of the Greek letter) and a dove flying towards a vase. On another we read :

..... US SILVESTER | *ka*LENDAS IULIAS
| *vixit* ANN XXX | *in* PACE ☧

Sylvester... the Calends of July..... he lived thirty years...

« In the peace of Christ ».

The gallery branches out right and left. Two of these branches have a matroneum: permitting one to look into the crypt below.

Let us redescend to the second story. In the gallery facing the stairway are two arcosolia with paintings. In one we see the Good Shepherd, with a caduceus, (unique subject in this kind), standing between two mile-stones, hardly visible at present, and two harts, apparently running to quench their thirst. In the second the three children in the furnace, on the one side, and the resurrection of Lazarus on the other, are painted on a red back-ground, just as many Pom-

peian paintings are. Behind Christ are the figures of two persons. In the middle of the arch is an Orante, doubtless the deceased; her name was Margaret, which is painted on the front of the arcosolium. The painted harts are of the IV century, the rest of the second half of the III century.

Let us follow our way in the gallery of St. Eusebius. Here and there, affixed to the walls, are the inscriptions of illustrious families: of a VICTORIA C. F. (most noble lady),.. and of PETRONIA AVXENTIA also most noble, for whom freedmen built this tomb. Christianity abolished in its epigraphic formulary the titles of freedmen and slaves; the rare mention of freedmen is found only when they, in remembrance of their past benefactors, and especially of the enfranchisement given them by their Christian patron at the moment of his death, took it upon themselves to build a tomb. This may be the case here:

PETRONIAE AVXENTIAE C. F... LIBERTI BENEMERENTI FECERVNT IN PACE.

De Rossi thought that the noble Family of Petronia, of which the deceased was a member, had given the ground wherein the region of St. Eusebius is dug.

On other inscriptions are read the acclamations VIVES IN DEO and IN DEO PACE. A fragment represents the dove holding a torch in its claws and turning the flame towards the monogram.

This symbol, to my knowledge, has never been explained by anybody, and if I were to give my interpretation, I should say, that there is question of a prudent virgin presenting herself to the divine Spouse. As a matter of fact, one painting representing the parable of the Virgins, shows them precisely as holding a similar torch in their hands; and St. Damasus, in the inscription of his sister Irene, says:

NVNC VENIENTE DEO NOSTRI REMINISCERE VIRGO
VT TVA PER DOMINVM PRAESTET MIHI FACULA LVMEN.

†

When the lord cometh, remember us O Virgin, that by life through the Lord by torch grant me the light.

The following crypt (fig. 50, N.° 13), must have contained the bodies of Calocerus and Parthenius. It is reconstructed entirely, but on the entrance-wall, to the left, the and of a pilgrim of the IV or V century wrote:

PARTENIO MARTYRI-COLOCERO MARTIRI. To Parthenius Martyr, to Calocerus Martyr. In fact, the martyrologies place the sepultures in the cemetery of St. Callistus; and the pilgrims visited their tombs immediately after the tomb of St. Eusebius (Cfr. the Synoptical Table of the topographic documents, pp. 90 and 91).

Here, says De Rossi, we leave the area of St. Eusebius to enter that of St. Soter. The recent discoveries do not permit us any longer

to give it this name: in future we shall call it, « the Western Region. » Entrance (there to) is by the gallery marked AA (fig. 53), which is the continuation of gallery o o in fig. 52. We find

Fig. 100 — The representation of paradise (IIIrd cent.).

immediately two chambers without anything remarkable. The following chambers, on the contrary, are very important; the left one is called Chamber of the Five Saints, (N.° 3), and the right one, the double chamber of Deacon Severus, (Nos 4 and 5).

This chamber of the FIVE SAINTS was thus named at the time of De Rossi, because the principal wall, divided into two compartments, is wholly painted ; in the superior compartment are seen five persons praying in the centre of a garden, a symbol of paradise ; their names are inscribed over their heads : DIONYSAS IN PACE - NEMESI IN PACE - PROCOPI IN PACE - ELIODORA IN PACE - ZOAE IN PACE. Then, on either side of the arcosolium, there is a peacock with the inscription ARCADIA IN PACE, above the left one. In the inferior compartment are two vases filled with water which birds are drinking, (fig. 100).

Now, some explanation. The Orantes do certainly represent the souls of the deceased. There is the same certainty in regard to the ORANTES of an arcosolium of the lateral way to the right BB ; near this chamber, where a whole family is represented (fig. 53, N.°8). Furthermore, there is certainly question here of souls in paradise, which the formula « in pace », following each name, explains. This formula, so frequent in the III and IV centuries, may, it is true, indicate sometimes the rest for the body : but oftener it wishes the soul of the deceased that peace which is synonymous with the happiness of paradise. When once the soul is enjoying it, for whom does it pray ? Not for itself, but for those who are not yet in paradise, for the surviving. It is here precisely that the sur-

viving make petitions in the epitaphs of these blessed souls ; we have already seen other examples in this very cemetery. Possibly, these figures are simply the faithful who died in the communion

Fig. 101 — Inscription of the Deacon Severus.

of the Church ; or they may be the martyrs to whom this formula also is becoming, « in pace ». Does the Church not chant in the Office of the Martyrs : Iustorum animae in manu Dei sunt...

Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori; illi, autem, sunt in pace? "The souls of the just are in the hand of God... In the eyes of the fools they seemed to die, but they are « in peace »?»

The same meaning is attached to the inferior compartment, where the idea of refreshment, so often used in the inscriptions, and indicated in the Acts of St. Perpetua, is expressed. This explains to us also why birds, drinking from a cup, are so often represented. It is possible that the chalice, especially when it bears the monogram of Christ, represents the eucharistic chalice: but these interpretations must not be abused, lest we fall, into error.

The double chamber of Severus (fig. 51. Nos. 4 and 5) is lighted by a lucernarium, opened at the time of Pope Marcellinus. This might appear strange: for, Marcellinus lived under Diocletian; but we have as guarantee the inscription sculptured here over a latticed opening (window.) This is one of the most valuable documents of subterraneous ROME. because it attests the continuation in and of the administration by the Church, of this cemetery, begun by St. Callistus; then also because it has a great dogmatic value (fig. 101). Here is the text:

CVBICVLVm DVPLEX CVM ARCISOLIIS ET LVMINARE
IVSSV *papae* SVI MARCELLINI DIACONVS ISTE
SEVERVS FECIT MANSIONEM IN PACE QVIETAM
SIBI SVISQUE MEMOR QVO MEMBRA DVLCIA SOMNO
PER LONGVM TEMPVS FACTORI ET IVDICI SERVET

SEVERA DVLCIS PARENTIBVS ET FAMVLISQVE
REDDIDIT OCTAVVM FEBRVARIAS VIRGO KALENDAS
QVAM DOMinuS NASCI MIRA SAPIENTIA ET ARTE
IVSSERAT IN CARNEM QVOD CORPUS PACE QVIETVM
HIC EST SEPVLTVM DONEC RESVRGAT AB IPSO
QVIQVE ANIMAM RAPVIT SPIRITV SANCTO SVO
CASTAM PVDICAM ET INVIOLABILEm SEMPER
QVAMQVE ITERVM DOMinuS SPIRITALI GLORIA REDDET
QVAE VIXIT ANNOS NOVEM ET VNDECIM MENSES
QVINDECIM QVOQVE DIES SIC EST TRANSLATA DE SAECLO.

Translation.

« The double chamber with arcosolia and a luminare, by order of his pope, Marcellinus, this deacon Severus made, a quiet resting-place for himself and his relatives, mindful in what sleep it must keep these sweet members during a long (space of) time for his Creator and Judge.

Severa, dear to her parents and servants, as virgin rendered her soul on the eighth calends of February ; (Severa) whom the Lord, in his admirable Wisdom and art, had ordered into the flesh. Which body, quiet in peace, is buried here until it rises in Him, Who has taken her soul aways chaste, modest and inviolable in His Holy Spirit and which again the Lord will give back in spiritual glory.

She lived mine years and eleven months and also fifteen days. Thus was she taken out of this world. »

It is astonishing that so little importance is attached to this inscription in the various manuals

of Christian archaeology. It suffices to say that it attests works executed here under Diocletian.

First of all: it is the first document in which the bishop of Rome is called « papae, pope ». Then, it is a solemm and public document of the teaching of the Church of Rome on the last things; for this inscription has as author the first deacon of this Church.

All this very is important if we consider the substance of the second part of the epigraph. The tomb is called a house of peace and of rest, which Severus made for himself and for his relatives, when thinking on death, that it might keep for a long time, asleep in their sleep, the sweet members of Severus. unto his God, his Creator and Judge. These members (corpus) are buried here until the Lord raise them up again the same Lord Who. by His Holy Spirit, has taken from them, the chaste, modest and always inviolable soul, and Who will return it to the body, adorned with spiritual glory.

Did we wish for a poetical exposition of death, judgment, resurrection, we could not imagine anything more charming than this. True it is, the rules of prosody are hardly observed; but the spontaneous character, the classic perfume of the formulae, the ingenuity of the rhythm, make of it, notwithstanding its inaccuracies a gem of funeral epigraphy.

We have seen that not only the " vivas in

pace,, live in peace, but sleep in peace, dormis in pace,... in pace somni, in the peace of sleep,. manet in pace, he or she rests in peace ", etc. are found. These formulae are completed by the foregoing inscription: " cuius corpus in pace quietum hic est sepultum donec resurgat in Domino: whose body, resting (quiet) in peace, is buried here until it arises in the Lord ".

I have explained elsewhere ex professo, much about the dogmatic value of this inscription. Notice also that this Severa, dulcis parentibus famulisque, is a tender virgin of about ten years. We have here, without doubt, an example of a young maiden consecrated from her infancy to virginity by her parents : which happened frequently in the early Church ; having become adult, she was not strictly bound to keep this promise ; but if she died after this consecration, were it even on the morrow, she was given the title of " virgin ,.. Hence we find epigraphs of virgins of six years, of four years of one year, and even of some months. St. Jerome tells us that children were consecrated to virginity even before their birth. This title of virgin was a title of honour ; we have met it several times.

In chamber No. 7 (fig. 53) there must have been a stairway, according to De Rossi.

In the passage BB, under an arcosolium. are four ORANTES of both sexes and of different ages (No. 8) They seem to have been, as

the five ORANTES described before, from the same artist. This arcosolium is called " of the mask " because on its vault is painted a mask with two flower wreaths.

Chamber No. 9 is very large. A rude sarcophagus is in the arcosolium; on the left wall of the arch, the name of PATRICIVS is painted in red letters, which name is repeated in a local graffito...V...PATRICIVS IN PACE.

To the right of gallery BB are also two other chambers, Nos. 10 and 11, in which a fragment of inscription bears the consular mark of the year 300. *defun*CTVS EST Puer... qui vixit *a*NNOS. VI. DIES... Kal. mai (?). AS DD NN CO*nstantio* et maximi*a*NO CAESS. III Coss.

Let us now sum up the different chronological indications. The quoted inscription, the paintings of the Five Saints and of the other ORANTES, belong to the III century; the double chamber of Severus is of the same epoch; this whole group, therefore, is prior to the IV century. It is probable that this region began at the stairway: but this stairway is doubtful. If it did not exist, the preceding part would be so much the more ancient, since it would be near the stairway of St. Eusebius. If it did exist and if it were the beginning of this region, the preceding part, notwithstanding all, possesses more antique features, either in its paintings which are of the III century, or because

Pope Caius, the predecessor of Pope Marcellinus, was buried there.

The principal chronological indications of the cemetery of St. Eusebius are: The rareness of the monogram ☧ the use of the name « gens » before the « cognomen » or the habit of putting two names: Aelius Saturninus, Cassia Gregorius, Γρεκίλια Εὐτυχία, (Grecilla Eutychia), Manilia Octavia, Cocceius Gregorus, Iulia Claudiana, etc.: the variety of the formulae and their dogmatic value, the relatively rare date and the word DEPOSITIO, ΚΑΤΑΘΕCIC, often fully written; the palaeography sometimes very beautiful.

You would hardly believe how much the archaeologists before Father Marchi and his illustrious disciple, have been mistaken, concerning the chronological indications of this region. Here is in example: having seen the paintings of the Five Saints, Marangoni was convinced that it was the cemetery of St. Praetextatus. He took away from this place and from the third story below, over sixty inscriptions and imagined that an extraordinary great number of martyrs must lie buried there on account of the many glass vases which he discovered. These martyrs must have been of the Domitian epoch, because he found a coin of this Emperor on the plaster of a loculus.

Western Region.

The region which extends from here, in front and to the left (fid. 53, III, IV), erroneously called the region of St. Soter, should have formed two different areae, of which the more important had a stairway. (38). It certainly was visited by the pilgrims and enlarged: a trace of this enlarging may be seen in the irregularly reconstructed stairway. It might well be given the name of « region of the rotunds », for the reason that there are five round crypts with cupolae. The most beautiful is the one which numbered as 44: N. 43 is entirely filled in; N. 40 of the gallery PP is beautiful and important: there is a case of one cupola set against another, as in the Byzantine churches.

To visit it, you may take route marked GG; the name of BOSIO is several times written with charcoal on the walls. Crypt N. 23, is called the crypt of the « sheep », because, besides other interesting subjects, the Good Shepherd with His flock is painted in the arcosolium (fig. 102) and there are also other interesting paintings.

The Good Shepherd is the habitual type; He is carrying the sheep, or the soul, on His shoulders, and brings it to paradise, which, here as elsewhere, is figured by trees: the flock represents the elect: the two persons who are

clad in sacred vestments (the tunic and the pallium) and who are quenching their thirst at two waterfalls, are representations of the celestial refreshment. Mgr. Wilpert was the first to catch a glimpse of the meaning of this composition, after patient study and numerous comparisons with similar monuments.

The Good Shepherd, the trees, the flock are

Fig. 102. — Representation of paradise (IVth. cent.).

the same subjects as others found in this cemetery; we recognize also the birds drinking; but what singles out this painting is there presentation of the admission of the deceased to eternal beatitude and upon whom refreshing waters are falling. We have seen the meaning of the formula « in pace » in the crypt of the Five Saints; it would be an easy matter to

prove with the help of epigraphic monuments, that the place of peace is also the place of *light* (1).

For the happiness of heaven is called in the epigraphs « munera, praemia lucis, the gifts, rewards of the light » ; and the CHRIST « is the light of the dead, ΦΩC TO ΘANONTΩN; In the paintings and epigrahps these gifts are called ; « refreshment ». This expression precisely does the Church make use of in her liturgy: « Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur ; To these, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, of light, and of peace ».

The other subjects are: to the right, Moses unlacing his sandals and striking the rock; to the left, the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. Christ is seen between two Apostles, who present to Him, one, the loaves, the other, the fishes, over which He extends His hands. The loaves, are marked with a cross, and fill several baskets placed at the feet of the Apostles. It is the symbol of the Eucharistic consecration; as noticed already, the cycle is generally represented by three subjects: Baptism, Eucharist, and Eternal Life. Unfortunately a small niche was dug here anciently for a place for a lamp

(1) Cfr. Wilpert. Di un ciclo, etc. p. 18; and *Notiones archaeol. christ.*, vol. II, pars 1).

or for a vase for oils: this has spoiled the painting very much.

This crypt was visited more than four hundred years ago, as is attested by the following charcoal inscriptions: An. d. MCCCCLXII hic fuit dms Abbs sci ermetis de Pisis cum Vii Soti-

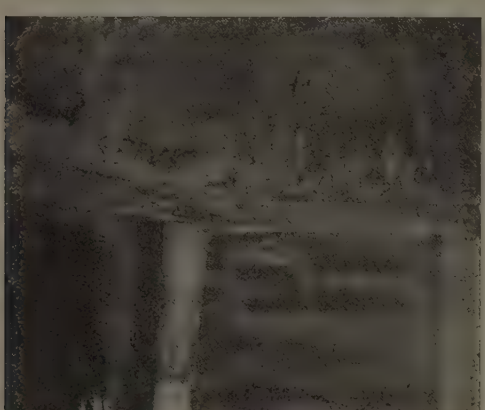

Fig. 103 — The « rotonda » oc annogmous region.

is religiosis S. dopn Bartolom Andreas Johs Onofri matteus petru sebastian.... A. D. 1462, Dom Abbot Sciermetis of Pisa was here with seven companions his religious: Doms Bartholomeus, Andrew, John, Onofrius, Matthew, Peter and Sebastian.

On the other side. 1490 HIC D RAYNUTIVS DE FARNESIO FVIT CVM SODALIBVS - 1490. Don Raynuntius of Farnesium was here

with his companions - 1495 HIC HIERONYMVS MINVTOLVS...

Bosio had the frescoes copied by Toccafondo and left his mark on the wall of the arcosolium: 10. ANGELUS TOCCAFONDVS PINXIT DIE 18 IVNII 1649. ANT. BOSIVS FECIT. Angelo Toccafondo painted. June 18 th 1649. Ant. Bosio made (this).

By taking now the galleries G, H, E, (fig. 51), we come to the stairway of which I have already spoken. The gallery PP is vast and magnificent, where de Rossi recognized with reason a natural and continued development of the region of St. Eusebius. He had believed that St. Soter had been buried in chamber No. 39, which shows architectonic forms. In this region a group of inscriptions of the Flori and Florentii, a noble family certainly of the IV century, unknown in the III, was found; this family had many relatives, as is testified to by the many inscriptions discovered in this cemetery by Marangoni (1). In rotund no. 40, there is a pagan epistograph inscription, serving as a title for a collegiate tomb. On the reverse we read: EVTYCHIORVM (sepulchrum), the tomb of the Eutychii: it is not the name of the dead; it is rather the patronymic name of him who gave either the ground or the right for burial; con-

(1) Acta S. Victorini, pp. 109–110.

sequently, all those who profitted of this kindness took in common the name of the donor. So also we find the titles of SYNCRATIORVM, GAVDENTIORVM, EVSEBIORVM, EVTROPIORUM, etc. (The servants, freedmen, etc., of Syncratius, Gaudentius, Eusebius, Eutropius). The Syncratii took their name from a certain Syncratius, *quibus loca donavit*, as the inscription reads (2).

Liberian region.

We may pass from here directly to another region, called the « Liberian », because three inscriptions of the period of Pope Liberius were found therein. We shall return to the *AA* gallery, to take the route EE; we find there an arcosolium No. 19, painted entirely, where the Epiphany is represented. The three Magi are dressed after the Oriental fashion and offer their gifts to the infant Jesus who is on the knee of His mother: the painting is of the IV century. On the wall of the opposite arch, is the multiplication of the loaves, hardly visible. Bosio wrote his name on the lunette of the arcosolium. On the outside to the right, we see the resurrection of Lazarus.

Facing this arcosolium is a series of four chambers (20, 21). Three are lighted by the one

(2) Cfr. *Notiones Archaelog. christ.*, vol. I, pars I,a p. 292-312.

lucernarium. At the bottom of the gallery is chamber no. 22, with elegant architectonic forms sculptured in the tufa. Here, as also elsewhere, the members of that Academy of humanists and antiquarians gathered, who had as

Fig. 104. — Liberian region IV century.

chief Pomponius Laetus, so diversely judged now as he was in his own days. He was called *pontifex maximus supreme pontiff*; in this chamber, we find written after the names of Acadamicians:

REG. POMP. PONT. MAX.

For « *regnante Pomponio Pontifice Maximo* » « *During the reign of Pomponius, the supreme Pontiff* ».

In another near-by cubiculum are found again the name of *Pomponius Pontifex Maximus* and the name of PANTAGATHVS SACER|DOS ACHADEMIAE· ROM*anae*, « Pantagathus Priest of the Roman Academy ».

Gallery B, running northwardly, leads directly to the principal artery of the Liberian region (fig. 104, XII). « This region. writes De Rossi, was dug on so grand a plan, that it surpasses every other part of the cemetery of Callistus. The principal road A, at its beginning, is thrice as wide as t heother ordinary cemeterial galleries. This width dates back to the origin and is in harmony with the proportions of the lateral chambers. These had been built according to a new and grand architectonic form and receive their light from enormous lucernaria: then, they form a continuous series, as do the arcosolia in the principal avenues A. B, C. In brief, the subterraneous architecture has here arrived at the height of its free development » (1).

An inscription of the year A. D. 362, was engraved on an entrance step, entirely destroyed at present. Here it is;

MIRAE BONITATIS SECVNDA || QVAE VIXIT PVRA FIDE ANNOS || VIGINTI PUDICA CESSAVIT || In PACE ID VIRGO FIDELIS || BENEMERENTI QVIESCET ID IVL

(1) Roma sotterr., t. III, p. 230.

PALVMBO SINE FELLE *Mamertino* ET *Nevita* ».

« *To the most deserving Secunda guileless dove, virgin of admirable kindness, who lived pure in the faith twenty years, died in peace on the ides of July, under the consulate of Mamertinus and Nevitta* ».

This is a curious inscription. It should be « PALVMBAE » and not PALVMBO, since there is question of a young girl, But elsewhere the soul of a deceased man is represented by a female Orante. We shall take up this matter again.

Near the stairway is Chamber no. 4 dug at some distance from the way, because not far from that point, was destroyed a gallery, to put there a descent to the third story. De Rossi thought he could place here the small chapel with balustrade which Boldetti saw and then described in his *Observations* (1), because he discovered there fragments of a marble balustrade and because the crypt corresponds partially with the description given by Boldetti; but De Rossi was mistaken; we shall find this chapel in a region of the cemetery of Ss Mark and Marcellian, further to the north.

Here though a meagre but valuable fragment of poetry was found which Damasus composed in memory of the deacon Redemptus, which al-

(1) Observ., p. 34-35.

so has been transmitted to us in the Palatine manuscript, edited lately by Gruter:

STRINGE DOLOR LACRIMAS QVAERIS P(*lebs sancta*) REDEM-
|PTVM
LEVITAM SVBITO RAPVIT SIBI REGIA (*caeli*)
DVLCIA NECTAREO PROMEBAT MEL(*la canore*)
PROPHETAM CELEBRANS PLACIDO M(*odulam*)INE SENEM
HAEC FVIT INSONTIS VITO LAVDATA (*iuve*)NTVS
INVIDIA INFELIX TANDEM COMPRESSA QVIESCIT
NVNC PARADISVS HABET SVMPSIT QUI EX HOSTE TROPAEA.

« O Suffer, repress thy tears! you holy people seekest Redemptus. The heavenly court has suddenly seized the levite. He produced sweet honey by his nectarian chant, singing the old prophet in as sweet flowing pleasing chant. This was the lauded life of an innocent youth, Miserable jealousy repressed finally rests. Now Paradise holds (him) who snatched trophies from the enemy,

The letters between parenthesis are those of the fragment.

This poetry has the same characters as the other epigraphs of the poet pontiff; the second verse corresponds to the third in the inscription of the Papal chapel; verses 3 and 4 recall memory the inscription of Bishop Leo engraved in rude characters, in which we read:

PSALLERE ET IN POPVLIS VOLVI MODVLANTE PROPHETA
SIC MERVI PLEBEM CHRISTI RETINERE SACERDOS.

« I have thought also of singing among the people the modulations of the prophet, and thus

I, the Priest, have earned to govern the people of Christ ».

The 6th verse is found entirely in both pieces of poetry, and causes a doubt, whether two persons have not been martyrs, or at least whether, these for having fought the ancient Arian heresy, they may have merited the title of martyrs for the faith. This and other inscriptions inform us that the first deacon was at the same time the chanter or rather the director of the choir; an important employment since it consisted in modulating the psalms and the canticles of scripture, as the quoted verses attest.

Here an inscription was affixed, bearing the consular date of A. D. 363: it is the IVth consulate of Julian, who became Emperor and apostatized.

To the left, on a slab of peperine, (a volcanic stone), a funeral oration was recomposed, having been engraved instead of an epitaph on a large and thin marble slab. It seems that the deceased person, (either a young man or a young lady of 17 years.) was very dear to the orator. It is the composition of a orator and is of little interest. The last sentences though have a real value, because they are phrases of ancient formulae; the last is important: . . . . « PRESTES IN ORATIONIBVS TVIS VT (Deus) POSSIT AMARTIAS MEAS IND//GERE TE IN PACAE »... According to the sex of the

deceased De Rossi proposes to read them in the following way, after completing them in the translation: « If I have been dear to you in this world », or: « You who are now dear to God, ask your Lord that I may not be unworthy of Him; let us pray together that God..: and, in the name of the love which you bear to me », obtain that through your prayers the Lord may forgive me my sins. (Amartia, a greek word for the Latin, « peccata » sins. « I hope that you are in peace, »

The verbose style of this inscription belongs to the time of the peace of the Church; it is in perfect harmony with the other chronological data of this region.

The arcosolium of the right wall was decorated with paintings which have now nearly disappered. So it is also with other arcosolia. Notice the paintings of arcosolium n. 9, in the lunette of which is depicted the scene of the judgment of the soul. Seated, Christ is about to speak; He has the nimbus, and looks very young. In front and behind Him are two saints in the rôle of advocates: the one in front alone is making an oratorical gesture. The soul is represented under the arch to the right and to the left, in the attitude of prayer, i. e. as being already in peace. Some will indeed find this explanation, due to Mgr. Wilpert, rather strange; still this. is the only one in harmony with other analogous monu-

ments which cannot be explained in any other way. In the centre, under the arch and in a medallion is *Christ* with a beard and a nimbus.

Further on, to the left, is chamber n. 11, called the chamber of Adam and Eve, because our first parents are painted on the wall to the left. By digging more recent loculi, this painting was mutilated: only flowers and a bird between the two persons may be seen in the lower part. This painting belongs to the second half of the IV century. This subject is reproduced several times in the other catacombs, and mention of it is made in the epitaphs.

Thus the parents of a young girl buried in the cemetery of St. Priscilla, wrote on her tomb: « Taken from earth, o Adam, you must return to earth. So also, Agape, our daughter, lies here, because Christ wished it thus. » The same allusions made in the liturgical prayers, wherein the human misery and weakness are alleged, in order to obtain eternal salvation from divine mercy.

The inscriptions and the paintings of this region indicate, then, the same epoch; this testimony is corroborated by the numerous arcosolia and architectonic forms, which belong to the second half of the IV century.

In one of the chambers of gallery BB, is an inscription which deserves a moment's examination (fig. 105). First of all, the major part is in sixteen pieces; De Rossi, believing it to be

whole, tried to reconstruct it, to patch it together; he recognized therein a mention of St. Soter. As the fourth line ended with « AT DOMN » and the fifth line began with ITA, and the inscription had been found near the region of St. Soter, he conjectured that the words: « ad domnam Soteritam, » should be supplemented. De

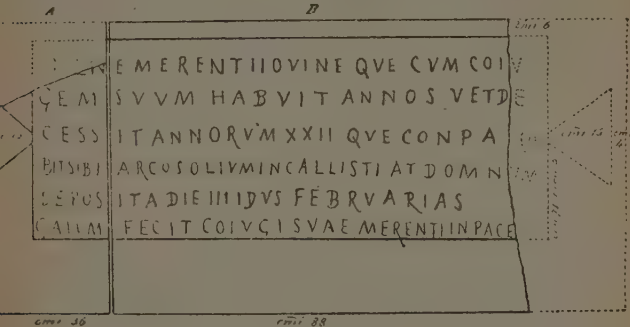

Fig. 105 — Taken from the « Bull. d' Arch. crist. 1901 ».

Rossi himself relates this fact, in order to show how careful one must be in completing an inscription. After the remaining part was found, the name CAIUM was discovered in the last line, and it was regnized that the date had been inserted by mistake between the fourth and the fifth lines of the epigraph. The formula indicates assuredly the tomb of Pope Caius. Other examples are found, indicating, now famous martyrs and now' pontiffs. But in our epitaph there is another important formula, the topographical

indication of the cemetery of St. Callistus: IN CALLISTI.

BENEMERENTI IOVINE QVE CVM CO(N)VGEM SVVM HABVIT ANNOS V ET DECESSIT ANNORUM XXII QVE COMPARABIT SIBI ARCOSOLIVM IN CALLISTI AT DOMNVM CAIVM DEPOSITA DIE III IDVS FEBRVARAIS FECIT CO(N)IVGI SVAE MERENTI IN PACE. » To the very deserving young lady who lived five years with her husband and died at the age of 22, who bought the arcosolium in Callistus near the house. She was buried on the 3rd day of the Ides of February Caius made her for his well-deserving spuose. Be in pace. »

At the entrance of the chamber of deacon Redemptus is a large gallery trasformed into a stairway leading to the third story; thence, by a broken arcosolium we pass into an immense arenarium. Fig. 106 represents an ambulacrum of this arenarium.

The region of Liberius bounds the North of the cemetery of St. Callistus properly so called. Another region developed to the South of the Liberian region without it: it is the region of Ss. Mark and Marcellian, which touches the cemetery of St. Damasus. The excavations undertaken these five years by the Reverend Trappist Fathers, under the direction of Mgr. Wilpert and the supervision of the Sacred Archaeological Commission, have established beyond any doubt, that the above-named ceme-

teries of the Saints are situated, not to the right, but to the left of the Ardeatine Way. An important fragment of the inscription by Pope Damasus for his mother, and the imprint of this same inscription on the plaster of a cippus, definitely establish the position of these cemeteries, which, even before the excavations, had determined the sagacious finder, Mgr. Wilpert. To these monuments must be added the topographical documents, which indicate the basilica of St. Damasus, immediately in front or behind the church of St. Petronilla, or which confound these two cemeteries with the cemetery of Ss. Mark and Balbina, being really in the neighbourhood. The cemetery has the features of the time of Damasus: and an epitaph found there, seemes to show that the engraver had before his eyes the poetry of the sister of St. Damasus, of which he imitated several formulae.

This region is rich in inscriptions and in sarcophagi of the greatest interest; I shall quote only a few examples. It would require a volume to fully illustrate it; besides, this region it will become the subject of another volume of the Roma sotterranea, which Mgr. Wilpert is preparing:

« To my very dear husband, very sweet soul, Alexius, lector of the title of Fullonica, who lived with me 15 years, united with me since the age of 16, he a virgin to me a virgin, and who

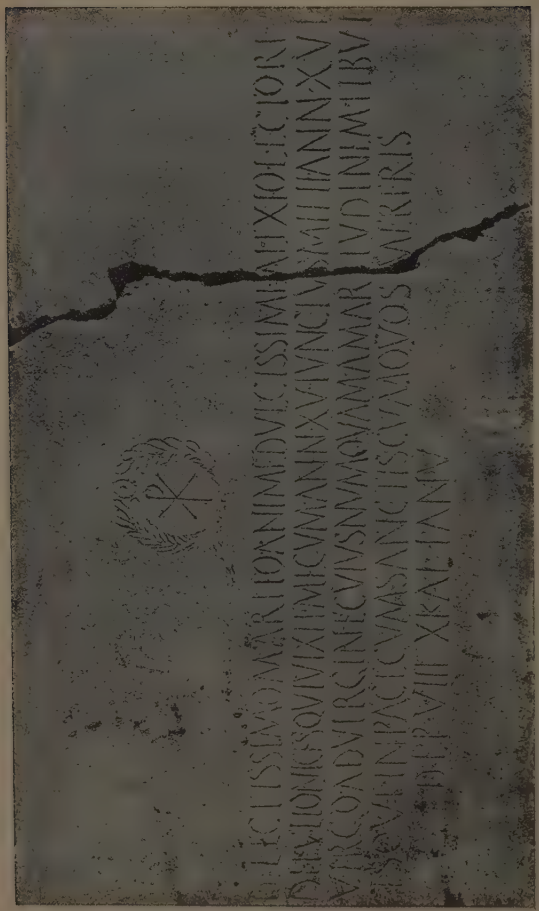

Fig. 101 — (Wilpert, *Peintures sur christ. Archéol.*, 1908).

has never caused me any bitterness. Rest in peace, with the saints (Fig. 107).

.. QVE VIXIT *annos*... *depos*ITA EST... [ad?] *mar*TIRES (fig. 108).

Fig. 108 — (WILPERT, *Beiträge zur christ. Archäol.*, 1908).

One inscription recalls Baptism : BENE . MERENTI . ANTONI . AE CYRIACETI . QVAE VIXT ANNIS . XVIIII M . II . D . XXVI ACCEPTA DEI GRATIA QUARTA DIE VIRGO . OBIT . IVLIUS . BENEDICTVS PATER . FILIAE DULCISSIMAE ET INCOMPARABILI . POSVIT D . XII . KAL DEC. The very deserving Antonia Ciriaces, who lived 19 years, 2 months, 26 days. She died a virgin four days after receiving baptism. The father, Benedictus to his very sweet ad incomparable daughter, has placed (this) on the twelfth day of the Calends of December ».

Another inscription gives as date the pontificate of Julius : SVB IVLIO AN*tistite* ; this is the oldest example of such a date.

Here was discovered the inscription of Theodulus (fig. 37, p. 62.) : it is very important, since it illustrates and corroborates all that I have said about the judgment of the soul, from the studies of my learned master Mgr. Wilpert.

Here also was found the following inscrip-

tion presenting the soul of the deceased person in the figure of a woman, but telling us that it was a man. The soul is represented between two trees, i . e . in paradise.

There is a certain flavour of antiquity in several inscriptions which show Christ, as the rest of the soul, though they hardly date back to the beginning of the IV century. The name of Christ is there indicated by the monogram, thus:

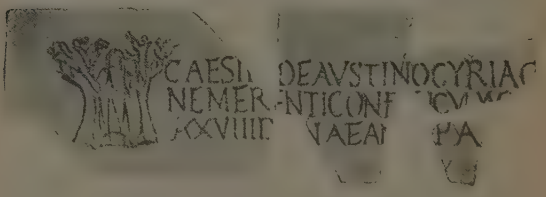

Fig. 109 — The soul represented in paradise.

« I ☧ N in Christo ».

Only a piece of the inscription of the mother of Damasus has been found: but we can restore the part printed on the cippus of which I have already spoken, as in fig. 110.

In this crypt where the cippus is, we find also a fragment of the poetry composed by St. Damasus for his sister Irene. This fragment was discovered by Professor Marucchi in the excavations of the Forum. Epigraphists are divided into two camps concerning its interpretation. I

have spoken of it in another of my works, to refer the reader (1).

Here is the text of the inscription:

HOC TVMVLO SACRATA DEO NVNC MEMBRA QVIESCVNT
HIC SOROR EST DAMASI NOMEN SI QVAERIS IRENE
VOVERET HAEC SESE CHRISTO CVM VITA MANERET
VIRGINIS VT MERITVM SANCTVS PVDOR IPSE PROBARET
BIS DENAS HIEMES NECDVM COMPLEVERAT AETAS
EGREGIOS MORES VITAE PRAECESSERAT AETAS
PROPOSITVM MENTIS PIETAS VENERANDA PVELLAE
MAGNIFICOS FRVCTVS DEDERAT MELIORIBVS ANNIS
TE GERMANA SOROR NOSTRI TVNC TESTIS AMORIS
CVM FUGERET MVNDVM DEDERAT MIHI PIGNUS HONESTUM
QUAM SIBI CVM RAPERET MELIOR TVNC REGIA CAELI
NON TIMVI MORTEM CAELOS QVOD LIBERA ADIRET
SED DOLVI FATEOR CONSORTIA PERDERE VITAE
NVNC VENIENTE DEO NOSTRI REMINISCERE VIRGO
VT TVA PER DOMINVM PRAESTET MIHI I .CULA LUMEN.

Translation: In this tomb repose members consecrated to God. Here is the sister of Damasus; if you ask her name, it is Irene. She consecrated herself to Christ as long as life would last, that holy modesty itself should prove the merit of the virgin. Age had not yet filled twice ten winters. Age of life had preceded excellent habits (morals). The intention of her mind, (plan of life) was the respectable piety of this young lady. She had given (shown forth) fruits magnificent for better years. Thou, Our sister of the

(1) Consult work *Notiones archaeol. christ.*, vol. II, pars 1ª).

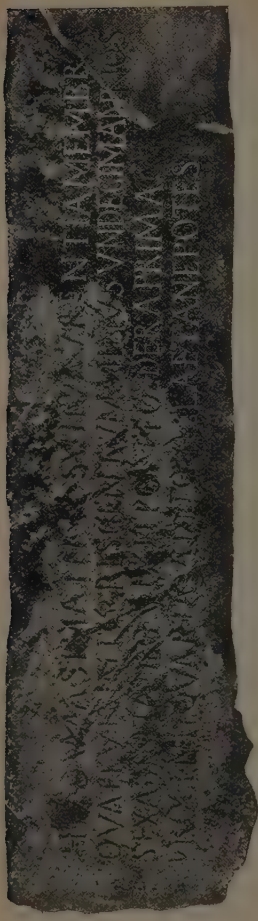

Fig. 110 — Imprint of the inscription of the mother of Pope Damasus. Part restored Original fragment.

same parents, then a witness of our love, when it fled the world, had given me an honest pledge, whom, when the better court of heaven had taken unto itself, I have not feared death, because free, it would lead me to heaven. But, I avow, I regretted to lose the companionship of life. Now at the coming of God, remember us, O virgin, that by life through the Lord thy torch give me the Light »

The crypt ot which I am speaking, and which Mgr. Wilpert thinks is the CRVTA DAMASI indicated by an inscription found formerly, is a very nice tomb: the arcosolium is decorated with a painting representing Christ surrounded by His Apostles, and

adorned on both sides with two niches covered with marble on which are frescoed peacocks: the lateral walls have two large square niches, where two sarcophagi with historical subjects were replaced.

The crypt (fig. 111), called crypt of SS. Mark and Marcellian, must have been wholly resplendent with marble of various kinds: in its four corners were columns with facets, notable parts of which still remain; the vaulted arch has cross-bars. In the lateral walls are two arcosolia; in the back is a large niche, the floor of which is raised by enormous white marble blocks. The left arcosolium is ornamented with paintings almost utterly destroyed by the crumbling of the tufa; they represented the multiplication of the loaves, other customary subjects of the Bible, and two holy persons, probably the martyrs buried here, between whom is a woman of smaller proportions, the donor of the tomb. The lower arch presents to the left an entirely new subject, reproduced a second time possibly on account of symmetry, bu rather by taste or intentionally on the opposite side where the stucco is destroyed. It is some person scaling a ladder and puttinghis foot on a spiral object, apparently a serpent. Behind him we might notice the slope of a mountain, whence shoot forth big ears of corn. The painter was certainly inspired by the vision of St. Perpetua, in which the martyr saw a ladder reaching heaven, and, to climb it,

she puts her foot on the head of the infernal dragon. In the centre under the arch, there was a bust of Christ, in a medallion, towards Whom

Fig. 111 — (Nuovo Bull. d' Arch. crist., 1904).

the ladder seemsto have been directed. To the right of the arcosolium a chamber « retro sanctos » was dug.

There are other paintings in this region

which extends under the monastery. Observe that of the Saviour and of the four Evangelists. Here for the first time the nimbus in seen, in the paintings of the cotacombs, for the crypt is about the year A. D, 340. St. Matthew points to the star; the other Evangelists show nothing particular, but we know that after Matthew follow by order: Mark, Luke and John; the two last seem to be beardless. The Saviour is sitting on a throne; on both sides of the nimbus is the monogram ☧.

There is another scene of the twelve Apostles and a scene of two deer drinking at a rock. Besides these two mentioned sarcophagi, there are others still in place: one of these is most beautiful: it is reckoned as being of the first rank among the known sarcophagi, on account of the purity of the work, of the vigour in the lineaments of the persons, of the delicacy of the profiles, especially of the profiles of Christ.

At the beginning, two stairways used to enter this cemetery, and each leads to a different level. From the lower level you may go down to the fifth story, where water is found. There also is a well, which must have furnished, in the II century, the great baths of the pagan villa, of which I have spoken already (p. 78).

This villa has been entirely demolished, perhaps during one of furious persecutions and for the reason that the proprietors, becoming Christians, had given it to the Church. After the Edict

of Milan two oratories were built amongst these ruins and and became the centre of a cemetery above ground. The higher level has another story dug in a harder yet, sandy rock; Mgr. Wilpert recognized there that marble grating described by Boldetti, and which De Rossi thought he had found again in pieces in the crypt of deacon Redemptus. It still closes the tomb which had-beew hidden for a long time, and in the higher part of it are seen the three monograms indicated by Boldetti.

CEMETERY OF SAINTS MARK AND BALBINA

From this point, a cemeterial and most complicated region, with entrance on the Ardeatine Way, extends towards the chapel « Quo vadis ». This entrance was monumental; in the walls, arcosolia covered with finest stucco, were dug. It certainly is the cemetery of Mark and Balbina. It is large, has several stories, and might be divided into two parts: one, extending towards the chapel « Quo vadis » would be the cemetery founded by Pope Mark: the other might be the cemetery of Basileus, named in the Itineraries.

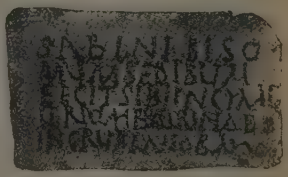

Fig. 112. — Inscription found next to the church « Quo-Vadis ».

« SABINI BISOMUM SE BIBVM FECIT SIBI IN CYMETERIVM BALBINAE IN CRYPTA

NOBA. Sabinus during his life made for himself a bisomum in the cemetery of Balbina in the new crypt ».

However that may be, the cemetery of Ss. Mark and Balbina need not be looked for elsewhere ; for it is placed between the Appian and the Ardeatine Ways and one of the inscriptions mentioning it was discovered « near the little chapel called : « Domine, quo vadis. » juxta aediculam quae dicitur « Domine quo vadis. « near the little building which is called, « Lord, where goest Thou ». (Note 69, Vignoli, De columna, 1705. p. 271). Here is the inscription :

FELIX FAUSTINIAN	« *Felix Faustinianus*
VS EMIT SIBI ET VX	*during his life, bought*
ORI SVAE FELICITA	*from the grave-digger*
TI [a] FELICE FOSORE	*Felix, for himself and*
IN BALBINIS BASILI	*his wife Felicitas, a*
CA LOCVM SVB TE	*covered place in the ba-*
GLATA SE VIBVM	*silica of Balbina* »

I shall not delay in this cemetery which is all caved in. Suffice it to say, to give some idea of its large extent and grand forms, that De Rossi stood stupified, and that neither he nor his brother had the courage to undertake the work of excavations and of study there, « The subterraneous place is spacious, dug at several levels, adorned with numerous and vast crypts, formerly lighted by lucernaria. The development of the architetonic forms has attained a height never before seen in any of the underground cemeteries of Ro-

me. In fact, I have admired an immense lucernarium, not quadrangular but nearly hexagonal, the funnel of which opens in eight radii over

Fig. 113 = Ancient Christian sanctuary of the IIIrd century turned into a farm house.

the hypogeum, to wit: in two oblique vaults going down to two vast chambers which present an oblong square, and end in an absidal form: in two ambulacra crossing at right angles with the two chambers to which they give access; and

in four slanting ventiducts, narrow and long, made in the four corners, and opening I think, into

Fig. 114 — Ancient christian cemetery of the III century turned into a farm house or barn.

as many chambers. That is the grandest, most regular, and best arranged group of undergro-

und crypts which have been discovered as yet in the Roman catacombs (1).

It is easy to understand why this cemetery extends south-easterly to the monastery of the Trappists, where also the galleries of the cemetery of St. Soter end; and northward, as far as the « Quo vadis » where the ruins of the basilica of St. Balbina are recognized. Constantine the Great as we have seen, gave the Pope a piece of ground called « fundus rosarius », the field of roses », and added thereto the surrounding pieces of ground The basilica which was built there was used as a tomb for Pope Mark.

Cemetery of saint soter and Arenarium of saint Hippolytus.

The cemetery or region of St. Soter in north of the tomb of St. Cornelius; we read, indeed, in the Synoptical Table of the topographical Documents, that the pilgrims directed their steps « ad aquilonem, to the north », in order to go from the basilica of this Pope to the sanctuary of this martyr. Then to go to the cemetery of Mark and Balbina, they left the Appian Way: « Et dimittis viam Appiam ». But nothing can be said of this region, because its direction alone is known relatively to the basilica of St Cornelius.

Now, what shall we say about the Arenarium

(1) De Rossi, Bull. d'Archeol. chr. t., 1877, p. 33

of St. Hippolytus? There are several arenaria (sand-pits) in the neighborhood and under the cemetery ; they are immense quarries branching out in every direction and being in communication with the catacombs since very ancient times. The uncertainty of the topographical indications, dispense me from speaking of this arenarium. Let us rather busy ourselves with what was believed to be, until these last years, the basilica of St. Soter.

In the « Römiche Quartalschrift » (1904), a) Roman quarterly review), a German Doctor declared he had solved an important topographical problem, i. e. to have discovered the true basilica of St. Cornelius. One will believe perhaps that he had made more complete and successful excavations than De Rossi had done. But no. By studying the Itineraries, this Doctor discovered that the basilica of St. Cornelius was that which De Rossi had taken for the basilica of St. Soter, situated about 600 feet from the tomb of the pontiff, and directly opposite the place where it should have been.

When Mgr. Wilpert established the new topography of the areae which surround the cemetery of St. Callistus, he thought he could call this sanctuary the basilica of Zepherinus ; now, the recent discovery of a tomb for two persons (fig. 116), just in the centre of the sanctuary, which tomb must have been the object of a special veneration, (for traces of the « fenestella

confessionis, the little window of the confession are found there), seems to confirm the opinion of the savant. Indeed we know that the Sovereign pontiff who founded this cemetery of the Popes, reposed there in the VII century, with the martyr of the Eucharist.

Professor Marucchi does not share this opi

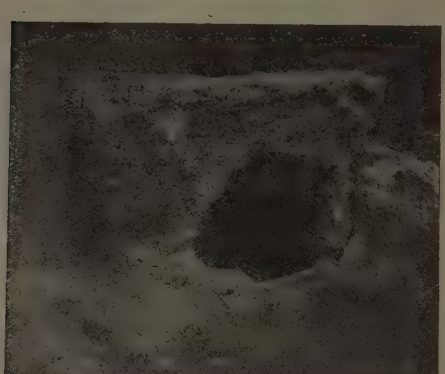

Fig. 116 — Sepulchre of two martyrs and the centre of the sanctuary.

nion, because it is in contradiction with the Itineraries, and because the basilica is not on the Appian, but on the Ardeatine Way. The second reason is a good one; but not so the first reason: for, it is upon the authority of the Itineraries that it was called the basilica of St. Soter, of St. Damasus, of SS. Mark and Marcellian, and even of St. Callistus, and that so many errors

have been made. One could have thought also that the basilica was on the Appian Way because its front was turned that way, and it was at a certain distance from the Ardeatine Way.

Such is the question being debated by the two celebrated archaeologist; it is not yet ripe for solution.

See, fig. 113, 114, and 115, two views of the ancient sanctuary changed in the Middle Ages into a farmer's house or barn and restored lately by the Trappist Fathers, from a design of Mr. Palombi, engineer of the Commission of Sacred Archaeology.

CRYPT OF SAINT LUCINA AND TOMB OF SAINT CORNELIUS.

The oldest region of the cemetery of St. Callistus, and, for all that, of all the cemeteries on the Appian Way, is the one which, following tradition, we call the crypt of St. Lucina (p. 30 fig. 48). It was founded in a geometrically defini'e « area », with one side resting on the Appian Way, and in the centre a mausoleum built in zones (X). From the inscriptions found on the ground and in the cemeterial galleries and relating to the members of the noble family « Pomponia » it was believed to be their property. Now the ancient Lucina, a disciple of St. Paul to whom she gave burial, was e actly a « Pomponia » of the branch of the Graecini; a person by this name was buried in this cemetery with the Pomponii Bassi. However that may be, the region is very ancient.

The very high galleries suppose three different epochs: the original ambulacrum must have been dug twice. Indeed, in the higher part we find the table tombs (a mensa), and openings of small passages which were arrived at by walking on the old ground at this same height. At the same level there are also chambers with much older paintings than those in the lower chambers. The same remark holds good for the other chronological data.

In order to enter the crypt of Lucina, we may pass through the labyrinth or through the very old region which connects them with the centre of the cemetery of St Callistus. There is, by the way, an engraved marble, unique in Christian art, and of easy interpretation: The *Orante* between two sheep. It cannot be any other thing than the figure of the deceased « inter sanctos », amongst the saints. Then the inscriptions, especially those in the gallery of the third story *bb*, bear simple (single) names; so, SISTRATON, URBICA, ECΠΕΡΟC, FAVSTINIANUM; with this last name are the united symbols of the anchor changed into a cross under which the divine Lamb and the dove are resting. On the marble of Urbica, the anchor and the dove near a tree are designed; it is « hope » in Christ, the pledge of eternal live. Another inscription, still in its place, reads:

ΦΗΛΕΙΚΑΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ CΟΙ ΕΝ Κω Κυρίω

« O Phelicla, peace to thee in Christ the Lord! »

Another has a Greek cross under the names POYΦINA EIPHNH. Rufina, Peace.
And one is found, made by a freedman, Secundus, to his worthy mistress Marcia Rufina. Another represents the deceased VALERIUS PARDVS, who was a gardener, carrying lettuce and a sicle.

The galleries opening on the right side of the ambulacrum (fig. 50) and numbered, put this ramified and extensive arenarium on a level with the catacombal net-work. De Rossi thought it was the famous arenarium of Hippolytus; after some excavation, he was able to go down into it and to reconnoitre as far as the fourth story of the ambulacra. Vain were the efforts to render the access practicable and to discover there any souvenir of the martyr ov of his companions; every stroke with the mattock caused irreparable ruins, and exposed the diggers to the danger of being buried in the caves; fortunately this dangerous work was abandoned before the stairway fell down. In (fig. 50), this stairway is marked at the end of ambulacrum U. U.

In this gallery, De Rossi found a very simple loculus, closed with bricks; it contained the remains of a young girl, whose purple clothes had gold-tissue. This proves, that those who were deposited in simple loculi closed with bricks were not always persons of the lower classes.

Now let us take the old staiwray A, narrowed by St. Damasus between two walls, and let

us go up to chambers X. Y. They date back to the II century of which they show paintings. In the first chamber we see the baptism of Christ; it is the oldest remaining representation of this subject.

On the wall near the entrance are painted the trunk of a tree with a breaking branch, and, near it, two birds: these represent souls in paradise. This trunk may have another meaning: for the same scene is reproduced in chambers Y, with this difference, though, that sheep take the place of birds, and that the trunk, cut horizontally as the first one, bears the eucharistic vase and is used as an altar.

Paintings, really of Pompeian style, cover the ceiling of the second chamber. In the four corners, two, figures of the Good Shepherd alternate with those of two Orantes; one of the latter seems rapt in ecstacy. It would be difficult to find, even amongst the classic paintings, a more expressive figure than the one just mentioned, although it was traced rapidly by the brush of the artist. The elevation of the figure reminds us of the Church called. « virgin-mother,... spouse of Christ » by the ancient writers and the Fathers; or it reminds us of the Virgin Mary, Yet to-day archaeologists of the school of De Rossi defend this last opinion: but it is not necessary to change here the meaning of the Orante without indication; this change would have induced a confusion of ideas of the faithful who

witnessed so frequently this figure near the figure of the Good Shepherd, or alone, to represent the soul of the deceased.

We owe this unity of interpretation to the patient investigations of Mgr. Wilpert Contrary examples are of rare occurrence on the tombs.

In the centre there is a painting of Daniel in the midst of the lions; it is very much effaced here. The left wall is remade; entirely; there must have been a scene of Jonas, having its counterpart on the right wall where Jonas is seen resting under the ground. The nature of the plant which over-shadowed the prophet, was as we know, the object of an acrimonious controversy between St. Augustine and St. Jerome, because the latter, in his correction of the biblical text, had changed into *ivy* the cucumber plant. They appealed wrongly to the paintings of the catacombs. On the contrary, even after the Vulgate became in current use, the paintings continued to represent a bower with pumpkins or cucumbers.

The most important of these paintings is the fish repeated twice on the opposite wall; the fish is beside the basket of loaves with the vase full of wine. All those to whom I have shown this painting, were surprised, because the black representations do not give an exact idea of it: it is often believed, that the famous chalice with the wine exists only in the brain of the archaeologist. Therefore I have had these two figures

reproduced on a coloured plate, borrowed from the hence-forth classic work of Mgr. Wilpert. (See these plates or cuts at the end of this book). It would be easy with this plate in and, in front of the painting, to verify, that the shadings have in no wise been exaggerated.

Let us ascertain two things: first, that the fishes are not wriggling in the water, for they are at rest, as in the other figures, on a greenish surface, nor bearning the baskets on their backs: for the baskets are beside the fishes; secondly, that the number of two fishes and the number ef five loaves seen in one basket, whilst in the other basket there are six loaves, makes us naturally think of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. Glasses of wine were added, and it is not necessary, as certain Protestant authors have stated, to make an effort of good will, in order to understand that there is question here of Christ, hidden under the Eucharistic species.

Let us remark finally, that the baskets and the transparent glass vase showing the wine in it, may be an allusion to the administration of the Eucharist. The poorer churches could certainly not be possessed of all the necessary and proper liturgical furnishings; they could therefore make use of baskets and glasses for the distribution of the consecrated species; that could take place even in the IV century; for St. Jerome, in his CXXVth letter, when speaking of St. Exu-

perius, bishop of Toulouse, in France, who had sold the sacred vessels to help the poor, says: « Nihil illo ditius qui corpus Domini in canistro vimineo et sanguinem portat in vitreo; None is richer than he who carries the body of the Lord in a wicker basket and His blood in a glass ».

Ambulacrum BB, facing stairway A has been called by De Rossi the aristocratic region of the Christian cemeteries of Rome, Because it bears the names of the highest nobility of Rome in the II and III centuries: LOLLIA - IALLIA - Q.

Fig. 117.

Fig. 118.

CAECILIVS MAXIMVS C. P. - ANNIA - ΦΑΥϹ-ΤΕΙΝΑ - AIKINIA ΦΑΥϹΤΕΙΑ - AKELIOA ΒΙΙ-ΡΑ - ANNIVS CATO etc.

De Rossi who, when he was making up again the genealogical tree of the departed, knew how to make their names serve as chronological indications, noticed that we may not attribute to chance, the meeting in this property of memorials of the most distinguished Caecilii with the Pomponii Bassi and Graecini, the Anni, the Fausti and the Veri. Whoever reads these last names, says De Rossi, » will recall the group of their

monuments and their epoch which is about the first years of the III century, and understands immediately that they are persons of the same family and that they are related to the Antonini Augusti. Anius, a name of a « gens » borne by two of them, and Faustina and Vera, « cognomina » given to three women, point evidently to the relationship with those Annii Veri and those Anniae Faustinae, so often mentioned in the genealogical of the Antonini Augusti ». (1) Add thereto, the fact

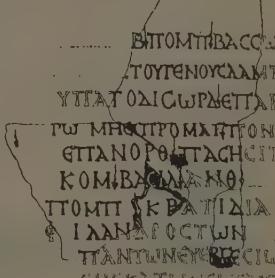

Fig. 119.

of the existence of columbaria since the time of Augustus belonging to the franchised of the Caecilii and of the Antonini: the inscription of a Pomponius Bassus of the senatorial order kept in the local museum (fig. 119); the special conditions of the place where the cemetery of St. Callistus was found; and we shall easily understand that if De Rossi attributed this cemetery to the family of the Pomponii and the

(1) Roma sotterr. t. I, p. 316.

Caecilii, it was not a hypothetical fancy nor his private opinion, but a decision which, at least substantially, seems to be final and irrevocable.

In chamber C is an inscription of a Virginia who lived five years « inlibata » inviolable, with her husband. (fig. 120). De Rossi thought it was one of those marriages, in which both spouses lived together as brother and sister. The paintings are decorative, as are also those of chamber E, except the figure of the Good Shephered which occupies the centre of the vault. This figure is not only very well preserved, but it is very complete in its symbolism. For, at the feet of the Good Shepherd are two sheep, representing the flock of the elect; He Himself is carrying the milk bowel, a symbol of the Eucharist. This peculiarity, found also in other figures with the Good Shepherd milking the seep, seems to have been inspired by the visions of St. Perpetua. The saint left herself being carried to paradise: « I saw, she says, an immense garden, and, in the middle, the tall and venerable figure of an old man dressed as a shepherd getting ready to milk his sheep, and he looked at me and said: « Welcome, my daughter! » He called me to approach him and he gave me a little of this coagulated milk. I took it with my hands joined and ate it. And all those surrounding us cried out; « Amen. » And at the sound of their voice,

Fig. 120.

I woke up, having still in my mouth the most delicious ».

In the IV century there occurs a change in this subject, rendering it more expressive, if less historical. The Shepherd is carrying the sheep on his shoulders, giving it at the same time milk to drink from a vase. They could not better express the charity of Christ towards the deceased who had died in His grace.

Let us retrace our steps to the foot of the stairway. Figure (121) shows an inscription of a

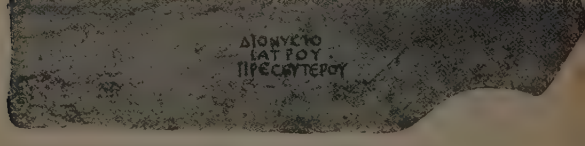

Fig. 121.
ΔΙΟΝΙCΙΟΥ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ.
of Dionysius, Physician, Priest

priest who was also a physician. He is the person in the famous novel Fabiola, called Dionysius.

The inscription closes a loculus near the ground. To the left is the sarcophagus of a child bearing the inscription : BLASTIANE PAX TECUM. Peace be with thee. This formula is prior to the III century, when it is replaced by the formala IN PACE, which remained until a later epoch. « Pax tecum! » We would say, it is an echo of the words of Christ when, appearing to His Apostles. He said to them, in order to dis-

sipate their fear : PAX VOBIS ! The Apostles addressed this same salutation to the faithful as-

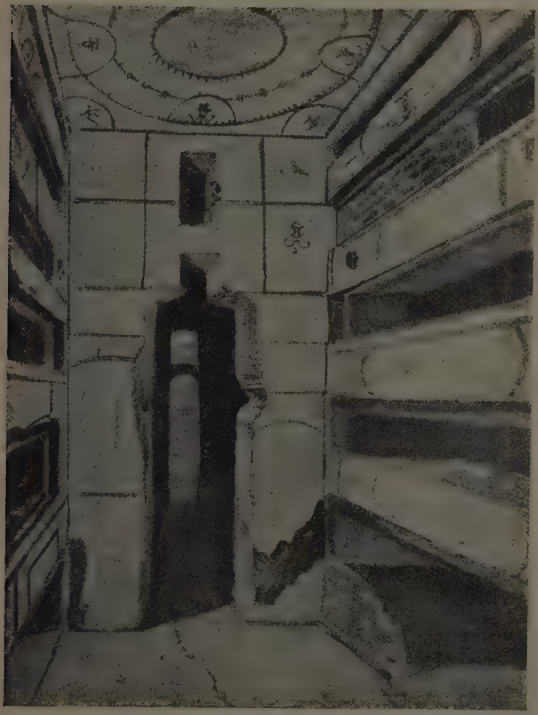

Fig. 122 — The Damasian staircase in the region of Lucina.

sembled, and the faitful received this touching wish from the lips of the Apostles.

A tomb under the floor bears this inscription :

IOBINA QVE VIXIT ANNOS PLUS MINVS CINQUAGINTA RECESSIT A SECULO INGRESSA IN PACE. Jovina, who lived more or less, fifty-five years, she left the world. She entered into peace.

Turning to the right, we see two inscriptions consisting of simple names: TRANQNILLIANUS, TRANQUILLIANA, and that of the priest Maximus, ΜΑΞΕΙΜΟΥ. ΙΙΡ.

On the walls are traces of paintings and of graffiti, which indicate the presence of venerated sanctuary. One of them, discovered by Mgr: Bartolini, later on a Cardinal, reads: *SCS* Cerealis et Sallustia cum XXI. This discovery gives authority again to a passage of the Acts of St Cornelius which critics had considered as fabulous: these « twenty-one » had been killed with their centurion Cerealis and with Sallustia, in the persecution of Decius, and without any doubt, the pilgrim who wrote their names, here or near-by, venerated the tomb of these martyrs. The palaeography of the names appears to be pretty ancient (IV or V century): the siglum SCS, though, is not prior to the V century, and De Rossi supposed it was added afterwards.

Two steps further on, the left wall forms a sharp angle, then turns to the right for a distance of about 12 feet, which makes the gallery look like a little chamber. Here is the tomb of Pope St. Cornelius, (fig. 123), who was buried in the year 252 and was honoured in his epitaph with

Fig. 123 — The tomb of Pope St. Cornelius.

the glorious title of martyr which seems to have been added later on. The tomb was for some time as a « sepolcro a mensa », « a altar tomb » ; later

perhaps after it had been somewhat repaired, it was closed as an ordinary loculus, St. Damasus who did much important work there, adorned it with an inscription, of which only a part has been recovered, and of which no « sylloge » (collection) has kept the text for us: Here it is as made up again by De Rossi:

Aspice, descensu extructo TENEBRISQ. FUGATIS
Cornelii monumenta vides TVMVLVmq. SACRATUM
*Hoc opus aegroti Da*MASI PRAESTANTIA FECIT
Esset at accessus MELIOR POPULISQ. PARATTM
Auxilium sancti, et FALEAS SI FUNDERE PURO
Corde preces Damasus MELIOR CONSVRGERE POSSET
Quem, non lucis amor TENVIT MAGE CURA LABORIS.

Translation: See, a stairway was built, darkness has been dispelled; you contemplate the monument of Cornelius and his holy tomb. This work is the result of the zeal of Damasus, when sick, to give an easier approach (to the saint) and to procure for the people his ready help, with a pure heart, you wish to pour forth your prayers, ask that Damasus may return to health, (may get up again); not the love of life, but rather the solicitude of his charge has kept him here below ».

The near-by stairway and the lucernarium are certainly works executed by the order of St. Damasus: this gives us the additions by De Rossi. At the foot of the tomb there was another inscription, of which there remains but a few mutilated words. De Rossi reconstructed it in

three different ways, which proves his competence for this kind of work. Here is one of them :

« Siricius perfecit opus conclusit et aream
MARMORE *Cornelii quoniam* PIA *membra* RETENTAT
Siricius finished this work and closed also the tomb because with its marble it retains the pious remains of Cornelius ».

To the right of the tomb a truncated column is backed against the wall ; it may have served as an altar ; at any rate, it must have borne a lamp or a vase with oil. On top we see : on the one side, the figures of St. Cornelius, pope, and of St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, (fig. 125),

Fig. 124 — Cornelius Martyr and Bishop.

with their names written vertically at their sides ; above are the words : quid retribuan Qomino ! what shall I render unto the Lord !! on the other side, the figures of St. Optatus, African bishop, and of St. Sixtus II, called « papa romanus » Roman pope, (fig. 126). Of the name Optatus, De Rossi saw only the first letter ; he skilfully guessed the whole name, for in the cemetery of St. Callistui a certain Optatus EPISCOPUS VES*cer*RITANUS had been buried, who fled to Rome at the time the Vandals invaded Numidia. Mgr. Wilpert washed the painting and then could read, SCS OPTAT : EPISCO*pus*. The pilgrim of the itinerary

De Locis Ss. Martyrum affirms, that Cornelius and Cyprian are buried in the same church. Evidently this error is due to the paintings and to the liturgy, which since antiquity had united the memory of these two saints in one office; unless we adopt the opinion of Mgr. Duchesne: (that relics of St. Cyprian were in this church). To tell the truth, the existence of such a church on level ground is problematic; we know, that, often an « ecclesia » (church), was termed a cemetery, a chamber, any place where a certain number of faithful could congregate around the tomb of a martyr. The construction of a church of this kind, called « basilica », which the « Liber Pontificalis » attributes to Pope Leo I, may be understood of the restoration or the enlargement of a subterraneous place.

Fig. 125 St. Cornelius Pope, and St. Cyprian, Bishop.

We do not know why St. Sixtus II was as-

sociated with St. Optatus, nor why, in the chapel of St. Cecilia, St. Sebastian is associated with St. Quirinus and St. Policamus.

These painting are interesting on account of the inscriptions and on account of the vestments of the bishops. Listen to what Mgr. Wilpert has to say about the former: « Beside the names, two other lengthier inscriptions, are painted in the frame of the images. One is written in black letters on a yellow background; De Rossi, with the help of psalm LVIII, 17 read: EGO AV*tem* CANTABO BIRTVTEM TVAM ET EX*vealta* BO MISERICORDIAM TVAM QVIA FACTUS ES ET SVSCEPRO (sic) MEVS. According to him, the inscription would be a prayer of praises and thanksgiving composed by one who had been persecuted and had received the help of God; or perhaps composed by some temporal sovereign. In the persecuted, he

Fig. 226 — St. Optatus Bishop and St. Sixtus II.

saw Leo III, and in the sovereign, Charlemagne. « To whom, says De Rossi, would this canticle apply better than to Leo III, who miraculously escaped from the hands of his enemies..., was brought back to Rome, and in the face of his enemies by Charlemagne. he could well borrow the voice of the psalmist to sing to God and to the sovereign whom God had raised to save him : « Ego autem cantabo etc. ». After the cleaning of the images : it was ascertained that the inscription contained in the upper and right parts of the frame, is taken « entirely from psalm LVIII, 17 : EGO AV*tem* CANTABO BIRTVTEM TVAM ET EXTABLO MANE MISERICORDIAM TVAM QUIA FACTUS SET (for est) SVSCEPTRO (for susceptor) MEVS ET REFVG*ium* MEVM I*n* DIe tribulationis ». (1) « But I shall sing Thy virtue and exalt in the morning Thy mercy, because Thou hast become my help and my refuge ».

De Rossi himself was not sure of his explanation. and he did not deny that another might be given it, on account of the age of the paintings ; for historical reasons. he admited even that the inscription might refer to Leo IV.

However that may be, the IX century is too late. These paintings may not be attributed at an epoch later than the VII th century, for the following reasons :

(1) Wilpert, Le pitture delle Catacombe romane, text, p. 410.

1° The pilgrim who composed the book « De locis SS. Martyrum » in which he asserts that St. Cyprian and St. Cornelius are buried in the same church, was led into error by the paintings; they therefore were prior to this document which belongs to the time of Honorius I (625-638); the paintings are those of the tomb; for the Itinerary of Salzburg supposes that the body of St. Cornelius is in the place whereinit had been deposited from the beginning: « longe in antro », « far backin the grotto »;

2° To these dates we must add the analogical and intrinsic criteria of the paintings which have many points of contact with the artistical productions of the VIth and VIIth centuries, i. e., with the diptychs and especially with that of Basile of the year 541. The same type in the oval of the face, in the eyes, in the folds of the chasuble and of the toga;

3° The loose and broad pallium cannot be long to the IX century, when this insignium had become a round closed (tied) ribbon, or it may be seen in the figure of St. Urban in the crypt of St. Cecilia. Now, as the paintings are not possessed of the sense of anachronism, they represent the figures and the dress of their time. Therefore these paintings may not be referred to the IXth century, but must belong to an earlier epoch.

Mgr. Wilpert attributes them to John III (561-574); this pope, his situation having become

intolerable after his rupture with Narses, retired (according to the Liber Pontificalis), to the catacomb of Praetextatus, situated in face of the crypt of St. Lucina; he could then have these paintings executed.

These paintings ought to be interesting for the visitors, because they give the antique form of the episcopal vestments. The holy bishops wear the « paenula » (round closed cloak or cope), which was used by ancients and even by the Etruscans, as may be seen on the monuments and in their writings: this paenula never changed: a circle of cloth with a hole in the middle to pass the head, and a hood (cucullus).

We understand that its size and form may have varied according to circumstances: workmen wore a shorter paenula in order to have their arms free. In the chamber of the Five Saints, (fig. 100), the figure of Nemesius is wearing a paenula ending in a point in front; this is the only different form in ancient art, pagan or Christian. Then, the paenula was also the travelling dress: Cicero alluded to this custom, when pleading for Milo: Milo, he said, would not have worn this dress, if he had wanted to draw his enemy Clodius into an ambush. St. Paul also speaks of the paenula, when he requests Timotheus to bring him the garment which he had left behind at Troas at Carpus's house, together with his manuscripts and parchments (1).

(1) Tim, IV, 13

Later on, it was called « amphibalus, casula, planeta ; th chasuble, the hood was taken off, and in the XII century, it had a form not unlike the chasubles called », the chasubles of the middle Ages ».

The paintings of the tomb of St. Cornelius give us the primitive paenula which had already become the vestment of the priest for the celebration of Mass, and called « planeta » (1). The pallium is yet ample, but the end falling from the right shoulder, and enveloping the top of the body, is thrown over the left shoulder, and hangs on the chest ; this insignium later on took the form of a circle with two appendices, one in front and the other behind, as may be seen in the paintings of the church of St. Clement in Rome, (X or XI century.

We have finally arrived at the end of our course through the Papal Cemetery, I say course, because volumes could be written, if we wished to describe it more circumstantially, especially its latest discoveries. I think, however, i have said what may be new to many. What consolesmeis, that in a near future the Comm. Marucchi will publish a work on the first cemetery of St. Domitilla, and that Mgr. Wilpert has

(1) At this epoch, it was not the vestement, (garment) exclusively for the priests. The senator also wore it at home. Cfr. Wilpert. Un capitolo di storia del vestiario, passim.

prepared more ample explanation of the cemeteries of Sts. Mark ands Marcellian, and of St. Damasus : worthy continuations of the « *Roma sotterranea* ».

It was after the discovery of the tomb of St. Cornelius, that the illustrious De Rossi conceived this grand work. A part of the marble-slab closing it, (found in the vineyard above), was the key to all his admirable discoveries; his first volume contains a detailed description and an exact explanation of the crypt of St. Lucina. His contempories thought he had finished the study of these subterraneous regions. The last discoveries which I have indicated, go to prove how far we are from a full knowledge, and how many questions remain to be solved. One single generation will not reach the end of so vast and so difficult researches. The genius of a man, in vain would flatter itself to have solved all the problems. He is only preparing the way for his disciples, who, in their turn, will prepare it for others. Such as the sower, who throws the seed into the furrow, the frui of which others will gater in, a hundredfold.

I. — APPENDIX

Latest news about the Excavations.

Whilst these pages were in the press, the excavations continued during the month of February 1909; a whole system of galleries, of a crypto-portico kind, were discovered in the neighbourhood of St, Cecilia. The arches are beautiful and of excellent construction. What is interesting, big piles of bones were found, which naturally recall that innumerable multitude of martyrs of which the Itineraries speak: « innumerabilis multitudo martyrum ».

Possibly it is an ossuary properly so called; in which case, this would be a new datum which should find its place in the Roma sotterranea, and force some changes on different points, admitted as certain up to present. For, an ossuary supposes, that after a certain lapse of time the tombs were opened to take out the remains of the dead and make room for others. It must be remarked though, that these bones lie in layers

and are covered with earth; which makes us suppose that decomposition was not yet finished, and that some kind of infection could have been feared.

Who knows, but we might find here the precious remains of the companions of the priest MARCELLUS, namely, Dulcoratos, Sapienza, Spes, Fides, Caritas with many others, perhaps 4000, 400, etc, who were executed on the Appian Way, and of whom the legend of John of Milan speaks? We know that the names of these latter ones are found in the "*Index oleorum*.. "*the Index of the oils*„ composed by the pilgrim of Monza, who gathered the oils at the tombs, in order to bring them to Queen Theodolinda, in the VI century.

However that may be, any solution at present would be premature. Let us hope, meanwhile, that the following excavations will shed some light on a matter so important in the investigation and study of the underground cemeteries of Rome.

INDEX

Preamble and Division . . . . . Page 7

CPAPTER I.

General notions on subterraneous Rome.

ARTICLE I. Character of the Christian sepulture » 9
ARTICLE II. Generic names indicating the Cemeteries. Soil in whichthe Catacombs were dug. Etruscan tombs, – Roman tomb, – Christian hypogeum . . . . . » 14
ARTICLE III. Foundation of the Christian Cemetery . . . . . » 22
ARTICLE IV. Nomenclature of theChristian Hypogeum . . . . . » 27
Summing up of the preceding articles; abandonment of the Catacombs; study of Christian Archaeology. . . . . » 32

CHAPTER II.

Epigraphy and Art in the Catacombs.

ARTICLE I. Epigraphhy in the Catacombs . . » 38
ARTICLE II. Epigraphy and the Sacraments . » 46
ARTICLE III. Art in the Catacombs . . . . . » 50

CHAPTER III.

The Cemetery of Saint Callistus.

ARTICLE I. Soil where the Cemetery of St. Callistus was dug . . . . . » 71

ARTICLE II. Chronological order of the development of the Cemetery of St. Callistus . » 97
ARTICLE III. Visit to the Cemetery . . . » 85
Chapel of the Popes. . . . . » 95
Observations about the Chapel of the Popes. » 102
The Crypt of Saint Cecilia . . . . . » 124
The Area of the Caecilii, its History and Chronology . . . . . » 129
The Chambers of the Sacraments . . . . » 135
The Area of Saint Miltiades. 169 152
Region of Saint Eusebius. 184 164
Western Region . . . . . » 192
Liberian region 221 197
Cemetery of Saints Mark and Balbina . 241 213
Cemetery of Saint Soteres and Arenaresm of Saint Hippolitus 244 216
Crypt of Saint Lucina and tomb of St. Cornelius . . . . . » 220

APPENDIX.

I. Latest news about the excavations . . . » 241
II. List of Roman Pontiffs . . . . . » 243
III. The Persecutions. . . . . » 244
IV. Index of nomenclature and definitions. . » 245

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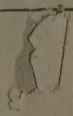

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